HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Rep. McCarthy Exploits Public Fears

The Scare Campaign on Chemical Warfare

By JERRY GREENE

Rep. Richard Dean McCarthy (D.-N.Y.) has burst out of two-term obscurity on a phony cloud of poison gas and is busy these days inflaming the countryside with cries of alarm about chemical warfare.

Unfortunately for his own purposes, he hasn't done his homework very well. Before the burbling is over, both he and Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.)—who seeks to steal this show—will discover that they have done the detested Pentagon a very great favor indeed.

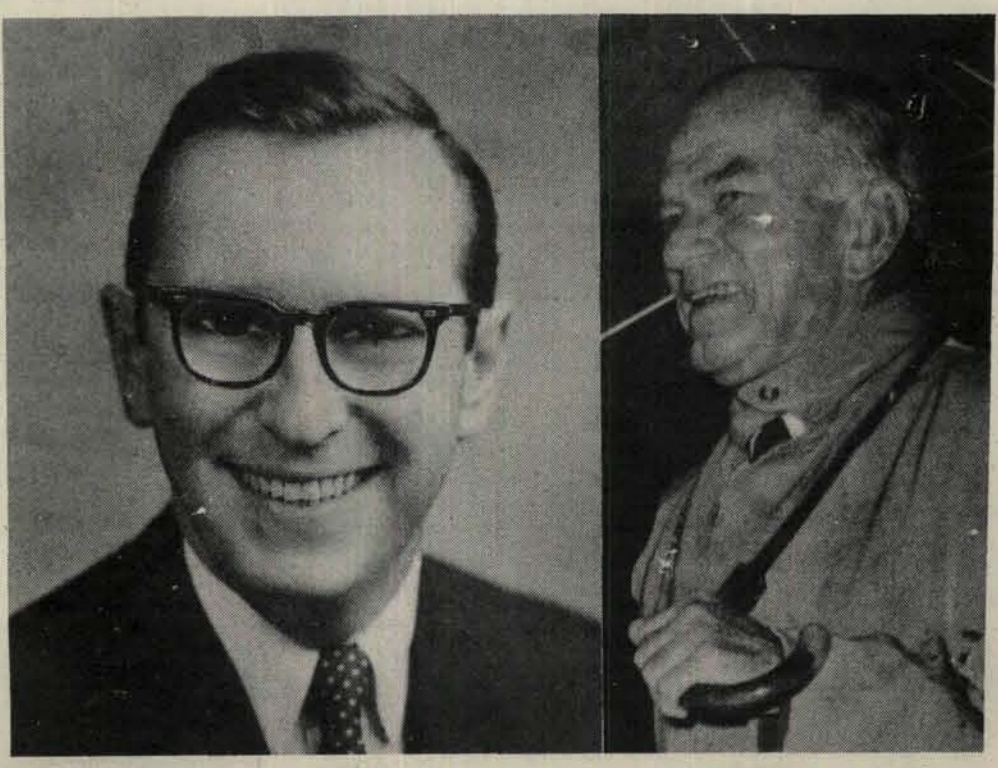
For, contrary to the dark suspicions and charges by innuendo arising from the McCarthy-Fulbright axis, the U.S. Army would like nothing better than to lay the whole case of chemical and biological warfare before the American people once more. The generals think a modicum of education and precaution might save millions of lives.

What McCarthy apparently never knew and Fulbright has conveniently forgotten is that the House Committee on Science and Astronautics conducted an extensive probe of chemical and biological warfare in 1959. The committee delivered the results—and 16 recommendations for action—in a report to the House on August 10 of that year.

Significantly, the House committee report declared: "There is an urgent need for greater public understanding of the dangers and uses of CBW (chemical, biological and radiological warfare) if proper support is to be given to our defenses and countermeasures."

In addition, the committee called for more espionage, more research at home, more public education—and specific inclusion of a ban on gas and germ warfare in any disarmament negotiations.

The reason for the House inquiry—and widespread, detailed disclosures of CBW facts by Army experts and civilian scientists—was that by 1959 Russia had given 30 million people a 20-hour course in gas and germ warfare defenses. The Soviets were spending far more than the U.S. for research and production.



Rep. Richard McCarthy (D.-N.Y.), at left, has put himself in a position of shouting "Gas Attack!" in a crowded theater, while the Army has all along tried to inform the public of the dangers of chemical warfare. Sen. J. William Fulbright also wants to get into the act.

Russian artillery stockpiles, down to the readiness dumps of field units, include about 13 per cent in gas shells. That was the percentage at the close of World War II and the ratio today is unchanged. The gas of today, however, is substantially changed. It is largely GB, the nerve gas—odorless, tasteless and colorless. Fumes from three or four drops can kill a man in four minutes.

Germany developed the nerve gases, far more lethal than any of the standard types in the Allied dumps. But even with this advantage, even as nuts as he proved to be, Hitler never dared try the use of poison gas. For the threat of retaliation hung clearly before him. The fear of a saturated Germany was sufficient to deter him.

That is the case, and the hope, today—that fear of reprisal will preclude any sort of chemical warfare venture by Russia or any other potential enemy.

But the Army always thought the American public ought to be aware of the situation and circumstances, and should be given at least the opportunity to learn something about first aid and self-protection.

Curiously, after 1960, a silent curtain fell on the subject at the Pentagon. Suddenly, talk of gas and germs became taboo.

Nobody would ever admit that former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara—or anybody else—ordered a blackout. The Pentagon insists to this day that there is no censorship directive in the files. But some old hands recall that there was some sort of a policy "understanding" that no good purpose would be served by further talk of the truly horrible chemical and germ weapons—or of defense against them.

Rep. McCarthy avowed that his interest in the subject developed when his wife was appalled by a television program on CBW. In his first blast, after obtaining a private briefing for 19 members of Congress, he was on sound grounds. He questioned the Army's safety precautions and practices, always a reasonable point of inquiry.

But then he got carried away to broaden his approach, crying alarm over a host of areas far afield from public safety.

He launched into a tirade against defoliation of the jungle in South Viet Nam, began challenging national policy, and by the end of April wound up demanding in a letter to the White House that President Nixon resubmit to the Senate for ratification the 1925 Geneva protocol banning gas warfare. The U.S. never approved that accord.

McCarthy's expansion of subject matter—and the television exposure and the headlines—drew quick attention from Fulbright, who saw the bright possibilities for a fresh approach in his battle against all things military. The senator summoned McCarthy for a huddle, then promptly called a meeting of his Foreign Relations Committee to hear "interesting, gruesome and discouraging" scientific testimony about chemical and biological warfare.

What the committee heard was, of course, the well-known fact that just a very little of some of the stuff could wipe out the human race. The Army has been trying to tell people all about it for 25 years.

Fulbright said his committee "probably" will hold public hearings. This means that McCarthy will be forgotten again, which won't matter much. What will happen won't be quite what he had in mind.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

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Why We Need the ABM

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Should Investment Credit Be Repealed?

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Capital Briefs

● A number of conservative lawmakers—including Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.)—are not especially happy about the rumor that former Eisenhower Atty. Gen. **Herbert Brownell** will be named to the Supreme Court to replace Earl Warren. Ervin was recently overheard saying, "Certainly we can do better than Brownell." According to some observers, Brownell is "too much of a politician" and would probably not turn out to be the kind of jurist conservatives feel is necessary to change the tenor of High Court decisions.

● Defense Department observers are extremely irate over the way the **New York Times** and the **Washington Post**, two of the nation's most influential papers, are slanting their stories against the Safeguard ABM system. When Teddy Kennedy's anti-ABM study was released the same day as a pro-ABM pamphlet from the prestigious American Security Council (see page 8), the Post gave front-page coverage to the Kennedy report and made only a bare mention of the ASC study on the inside pages. The Times also front-paged Teddy's study, but refused to mention the ASC study in any manner, even though a host of distinguished scientists, including Dr. Edward Teller and Nobel Prize winners Eugene Wigner and Willard Libby, had helped to prepare it.

● Insiders are saying that new Peace Corps Director **Joseph Blatchford**, sworn in at the Rose Garden just last week, will find the outfit plagued with troubles that developed under the Democrats. During the Kennedy-Johnson years, they say, the Corps grew top-heavy with administrative personnel and assigned too many "hippie types" for volunteer work in foreign countries. In a number of Latin American nations, for instance, Peace Corpsmen have recently been caught smoking marijuana and affecting other aspects of the hippie subculture.

● President Nixon's top White House foreign policy adviser, Dr. **Henry Kissinger**, impressed a number of hawkish reporters recently when he expounded on both Viet Nam and Soviet military policy. In a background briefing, Kissinger forcefully affirmed that the Administration had no intention of capitulating to Communist demands on Viet Nam and that radical demonstrators in the United States were wasting their energies thinking they could compel a withdrawal of American GIs that would endanger the sovereignty of South Viet Nam. Furthermore, Kissinger firmly supported Defense Secretary Melvin Laird's thesis that the Soviet Union was reaching for a first-strike capability in nuclear weapons.

● Big Spender Department: Lawyers for the late Sen. **Robert Kennedy** have informed creditors that bills amassed in RFK's 1968 campaign will not be paid in full. A Beverly Hills law firm representing Kennedy is offering the creditors as little as 33-1/3 cents on the dollar, explaining that it has been able to raise only $1 million of the $3 million still outstanding. A Kennedy lawyer objected when a reporter suggested the late senator's family was "welshing" on the debt. "This is standard procedure," he said.

● Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen bristled last week when he read in a Washington paper that freshman Sen. **Charles Goodell** (R.-N.Y.) had attacked him as an "obstructionist" in Canada. Senate insiders predict that it will be a long time before the powerful Dirksen does any favors for the very junior Goodell.

● The Gallup Poll revealed last week that President Richard Nixon is preferred over Sen. **Edward Kennedy** by a 5-to-3 ratio, with the President receiving 52 per cent of the vote as against 33 per cent for the Massachusetts Democrat. The same poll also uncovered a surprisingly strong vote for former Gov. George Wallace, who was favored by 10 per cent of those asked to decide whom they would like to see in the White House. The strong Wallace showing—25 per cent in the South—demonstrates to seasoned politicos that Nixon has much to do before he can hope to hold Dixie in line for the GOP.

● The Soviet Trade Union publication, **Trud**, has taken a harsh view of Nixon's 100 days, scoring him for refusing to settle the Viet Nam war, attempting to pump new life into NATO and going ahead with the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system.

● President Nixon has again given the cold shoulder to his erstwhile supporters in the **Young Republican National Federation**, rejecting an invitation to address the YRNF convention in Chicago this summer. This marks Nixon's second refusal to address a major gathering of the GOP youth group which campaigned hard for him last year.

● New York Mayor John Lindsay, who faces a tough primary contest, is still coming under attack for his appointment of the Rev. **Milton A. Galamison** to the city's Board of Education. Galamison, now vice president of the board, told a group of community college students last week that "almost anything" that was committed in the name of the student revolution was "justified." Asked if he condoned the Cornell University situation, where black students carried guns, Galamison replied that he, personally, was "non-violent" but that he didn't "argue that everyone else has to be."

● Many of America's churchgoers will be interested to know that the **National Council of Churches** has just put them on record against deployment of the ABM. In earlier pronouncements the NCC has called for the recognition of Red China, unilateral steps toward disarmament and East-West trade.

● Sen. Eugene McCarthy's (D.-Minn.) 18-year-old son, Michael, has applied to his local draft board for classification as a **conscientious objector**. If he is refused CO classification, the Minnesota senator's son said last week, "I would try the Peace Corps or try to get a deferment. If I was inducted, I wouldn't go." His anti-Viet Nam war father, said young McCarthy, "doesn't agree with my position . . . but he says I should go ahead if I believe I'm right."

● Thailand's ambassador to Laos has told his countrymen that pro-Communist **Pathet Lao forces**, heavily supported by Red Chinese and North Vietnamese troops, now control most of Laos. "The Communists in Laos hope that by holding most of the land they will be able to force the Royal Laotian government to give them power in a coalition," said Thai Ambassador Ensri Pitchayenyothin. If Laos does fall under Communist control, Thailand, its pro-West neighbor, would be the next "domino" in line.

● Super-dove **George McGovern** has lionized as patriots those student leaders who recently declared they would go to jail before serving in the armed forces. In a Senate speech the South Dakota Democrat said the students' vow to defy the draft was "in the best tradition of true patriotism and true Americanism."

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Nixon to Push East-West Trade?

A deep concern has now enveloped diplomatic hard-liners over the Nixon Administration's position on East-West trade. While no official policy has yet been staked out, word has leaked from the White House that the President wants to loosen restrictions and promote the flow of goods between Communist nations and the United States.

NIXON

Key officials recently picked by Nixon, moreover, have been vigorous advocates of expanded Red trade. These officials, newly emerged in economic policy-making positions, have long trumpeted the thesis that trade barriers, like the Walls of Jericho, must come tumbling down.

To achieve their goals, these appointees have long urged that Communist countries be granted huge tariff concessions (most-favored-nation treatment), long-term credits and the right to purchase such "non-strategic goods" as precision machine tools, synthetic rubber factories, computers and other items of a similar nature.

Indeed, the suspicion is mounting that the President—contrary to his solemn campaign promises—may be embarked on a course that will result in enormous benefits to the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries in Eastern Europe without any attempt to wrest political concessions in return.

The growing fear that Nixon wants to expand trade with the Red bloc can be traced to the following appointments he has made to crucial positions dealing with East-West trade matters:

• **Carl Gilbert.** The head of the Boston-based Gillette razor-blade manufacturing company, Gilbert has been named the President's special representative on trade. According to well-placed observers, Gilbert is a definite advocate of increased trade with the Soviet bloc.

• **Nathaniel Samuels.** Formerly connected with the Kuhn-Loeb investment firm in New York, Samuels was sworn in on April 2 as deputy under secretary for economic affairs. Samuels is also a proponent of more trade with the Communists.

• **Philip H. Trezise.** A career Foreign Service officer. Trezise was of last week named assistant secretary of state for economic affairs and will serve as a principal adviser to Samuels.

The Trezise appointment, foreshadowed in our April 5 issue (page 3), has been one of the most disturbing selections yet made by the President, for in previous Administrations the post Trezise now holds has had the most decisive say in framing Red trade policy for the entire government. Not only is Trezise expected to control State Department policy, but he will also most likely control the regulations governing Red trade administered by Commerce and the Treasury Department.

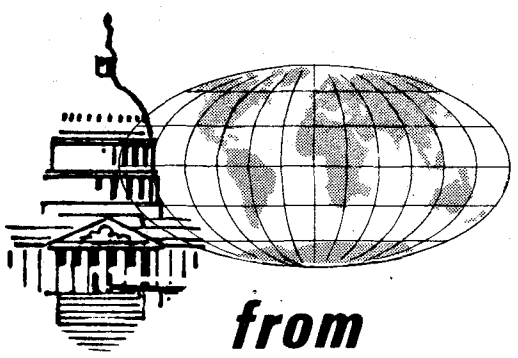
There is little question, furthermore, as to where Trezise stands. Testifying before the Senate Banking and Currency's subcommittee on international finance last year, Trezise pushed for a wide variety of measures to open the floodgates, including tariff concessions and credits. Even more alarming, Trezise strongly suggested he favored ending regulations directed at preventing U.S. subsidiaries in foreign countries from dealing with Communist China and Cuba.

Trezise has long been a favorite of liberal Democrats and, in fact, moved into policy-making positions during the Kennedy-Johnson years. During this period, he repeatedly beat the drums for Red trade expansion.

Sen. Walter Mondale (D.-Minn.), another vigorous proponent of trade with the Communists, told his colleagues when Trezise testified that he was a highly persuasive fellow. Trezise, according to Mondale, had once invited the Minnesotan to his Paris home where a number of American businessmen interested in Red trade were assembled. " . . . I think more than any other person," stressed Mondale, "he whetted my appetite for this issue."

So alarming have Trezise's views been, in fact, that Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.) wrote to Secretary of State Rogers on April 10 expressing disapproval of Trezise and wondering if it were true that he was about to be appointed. Mundt breathed easier when

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

on April 15, Rogers indicated no such selection was in the offing and commented, "I don't know the source of the rumors." Indeed, Nixon himself was reported to have been vigorously opposed to the Trezise appointment as of a month ago.

But now, for some curious reason, Trezise has emerged as a key policy-maker on East-West trade. (The chances of stopping him are slim, but the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, of which Mundt is a member, can still refuse to confirm him.)

What greatly puzzles Capitol Hill about all these developments is that during the campaign, and even in recent weeks, Nixon and those presumed to be speaking for him have repeatedly stressed that the President believed that trade must be used as a weapon against the Communists. "If we are to trade, we must get political concessions in return," has been the Administration line.

In the booklet *Nixon on the Issues*, prepared by the Nixon-Agnew Campaign Committee, Nixon not only stated that "trade is a great weapon for the United States," but that "the United States should not provide anything that could be treated as, or classified as, aid to those [Communist bloc] nations if they persist in trading or aiding the enemy in North Viet Nam."

Yet all the Communist bloc nations, save for Yugoslavia, are providing aid to Hanoi. On May 1, according to Soviet sources, no fewer than 12 Soviet ships were in Haiphong harbor. Each week, in fact, over 150 American boys die in Viet Nam because Hanoi is being supplied by Communist-bloc nations.

If Nixon really hopes to use trade as a weapon. it is being asked, why in the world has he placed in key positions those who want to permit the Soviets to buy high-quality U.S. industrial equipment— much of which can be used for warfare purposes—without any concessions whatsoever?

Results of Red Trade Revealed

While the Nixon Administration appears intent on relaxing trade restrictions against Communist countries, Anthony C. Sutton, a research Fellow at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University in California, has prepared a study that forcefully suggests that the United States and the rest of the free world should design more effective measures to slow down, rather than speed up, East-West trade.

Sutton, who has studied the impact of Western technology on the Communist bloc for the past 10 years, has submitted his paper to the Senate's Banking and Currency subcommittee on international finance. Headed by Edmund Muskie (D.-Maine), the panel is now conducting hearings on Red trade.

Sutton's conclusions fly in the face of the Red trade promoters. His findings: that "the single most important factor in Soviet economic and military developments has been the infusion of Western, primarily American origin, technology."

Sutton stresses that the "rapid growth of the Soviet merchant marine and concomitant movement of Soviet naval vessels into new areas has occasioned considerable concern. However, we have brought the problem on ourselves. Precise quantitative estimates can be made of the origin of the Soviet merchant fleet; it is estimated that over two-thirds of the hulls and even more than two-thirds of the engines propelling these hulls have been built outside the Soviet Union in foreign ship yards or manufacturing plants and sold to the USSR in normal commerce."

Equally as interesting is Sutton's claim that the Soviet automotive industry, which the United States has tried to bolster substantially through the FIAT deal, has been used for the production of military items.

We should not be surprised, says Sutton, "that the main Soviet automobile plants (for example, Gorki and ZIL), reconstructed and expanded by American firms in the early 1930s and since re-equipped under Lend-Lease and normal trade, have consistently and simultaneously produced both 'civilian' and 'military' vehicles and other products.

"The Gorki plant (GAZ), designed, built and equipped by the Ford Motor Co. in the early 1930s commenced manufacture of armored cars soon after the Ford engineers left for the United States. Today, among other military goods, Gorki produces the GAZ-46 (the Soviet Jeep), the GAZ-69 'light automobile'—the chassis of which is the base for the SHMEL anti-tank rocket missile system, and the GAZ-54 used to tow the ZPU-anti-aircraft gun. This military equipment was used last year in the Middle East and probably in South Viet Nam."

In spite of this known military usefulness, says Sutton, the United States today is financing and supplying three-quarters of the advanced production equipment for the FIAT automobile plant in the Soviet Union.

This plant is labeled a "FIAT project," but the FIAT company actually does not make the necessary automobile manufacturing equipment, so must rely mainly on U.S. suppliers. Even while the Soviet Army was invading Czechoslovakia, U.S. machine tool manufacturers such as Gleason, New Britain and U.S. Industries, Inc., were shipping major portions of the equipment to the USSR—and the deliveries are still going on.

"The latest public report," says Sutton, "includes shipment of $9.2 million of gear manufacturing and testing machines, $2.9 million of molding and casting line foundry equipment and $2.3 million of crankshaft grinding equipment. The U.S. equipment sales are financed by the Export-Import Bank of the United States."

If history is any guide, Sutton warns, the FIAT plant will be used to produce military vehicles and he notes that the new Soviet vehicle will not be the advertised FIAT-124, but a more rugged unit with a larger engine.

The distinction between civilian and military goods, Sutton adds, is fallacious. Take, for instance, the GAZ-69 automobile currently produced in the USSR. While it is described as a "light automobile" and

Top executives of the Washington-based department store, Woodward & Lothrop, recently received irate letters after holding an autograph party for Marxist Julius Hobson on the occasion of the publication of his new book. But it now turns out that Woody's president, Andrew Parker, was equally as angry about the Hobson shindig; the decision had been made when Parker was out of the city. When Parker found out about it, he personally called every customer who had written a complaining letter about the event and promised such a thing would never happen again.

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advertised for hospital, medical assistance and agricultural purposes, by removing the light body work, retaining the GAZ-69 chassis and then welding on a steel protection plate– "you have the base for the SHMEL rocket launcher."

• In gathering the information for his study, Sutton did not have a particularly fruitful time with the Export-Import Bank. The bank financed the FIAT-Soviet deal through the Instituto Mobiliare Italiano. The bank report for 1968 includes on page 42 incomplete details for an IMI loan of $80 million at an extremely low–4-7/8 per cent–interest. Sutton requested complete details (usually published by the bank) on the assumption that this was indeed part of the FIAT-Soviet financing. The public information, however, was refused in a letter dated April 7, 1969, from B. Jenkins Middleton, vice president of Program Planning and Information. Rep. John E. Moss (D.-Calif.) has directed an "immediate investigation" under the Freedom of Information Act.

Panthers on the Prowl

The FBI warned last week that the virulent Black Panthers are growing at a frightening rate and pose a very real threat to the national security.

Assistant FBI Director William C. Sullivan reported that less than a year ago, the Panthers claimed 125 members, all in Oakland, Calif. Today, they are operating in 24 cities with more than 60,000 sympathizers. The Panthers' pro-Peking, anti-Semitic journal has doubled its circulation in just a few months, now boasts 40,000 subscribers from coast to coast.

Sullivan disclosed that the FBI has identified more than 100 black extremist groups throughout the country. There is considerable coordination between the Panthers and other militant groups, including the Republic of New Africa, the Black Student Unions and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Such groups often dovetail their activity with revolutionary (and largely white) groups like the Students for a Democratic Society. Sullivan reported that SDS leaders have been instructed in the techniques of firebombing, sabotage and explosives. He ticked off cases of New Left sabotage, noted that at least one SDS operative has been convicted in federal court of sabotage. Another is the target of a nationwide manhunt and is currently featured on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted list.

Sullivan indicated that the domestic SDS agitators–Mark Rudd, Tom Hayden, Michael Klonsky, et al.–are now being aided by foreign revolutionaries who come to this country to incite violence.

Among these aliens, Sullivan said, are Ernest and Gisela Mandel of Brussells. Ernest, a German-born, self-styled revolutionary, is a leading member of the Trotskyite United Secretariat of the Fourth International. He and his wife addressed groups at more than 50 colleges and universities while touring this country, calling for revolution.

German Karl Dietrich Wolff, another self-proclaimed revolutionary, appeared at more than a dozen U.S. campuses last winter, Sullivan noted. Wolff called for the construction of an international revolutionary alliance and exhorted U.S. students towards violence.

Fortas' Bad Week

"Mr. Justice, when are you going to give an explanation?" a television newsman asked the beleaguered Abe Fortas last week.

"No, no, no, nothing, nothing, nothing," replied Fortas and scurried away. Associates close to Fortas say, in fact, that he has "no intention" of replying further to the flurry of charges that now surround him. But Fortas may have to–or step down instead from the nation's highest court.

FORTAS

For the second time in less than a year, Fortas finds himself embroiled in controversy, accused of highly profitable wheeling and dealing and thus bringing a "cloud of suspicion" over the entire Supreme Court. Last summer the Senate reviewed Fortas' extra-curricular financial and political activities, then decided not to confirm him as Lyndon Johnson's chief justice.

But this time the situation is somewhat different. Newspapers which gave Fortas all-out support last summer–including the Washington *Post* and the New York *Times*–are bluntly calling for Fortas to answer the charges raised by *Life* magazine and others or resign.

On Capitol Hill, Fortas has not a single defender and the cries for resignation, and even impeachment, are growing louder.

Fortas' week began on Monday, May 5, when *Life* magazine appeared on the newsstands with a sensational story linking Fortas and convicted stock manipulator Louis Wolfson. *Life* outlined this series of events:

• On Jan. 3, 1966, soon after he went on the High Court, Fortas received a $20,000 check from the Wolfson Family Foundation, a tax-exempt group set up by Wolfson and his brothers. The following month, Wolfson assured a close associate that a Securities Exchange Commission investigation into their affairs was being taken care of.

• On June 14, Fortas flew to Florida and conferred with Wolfson. While Fortas maintains he discussed only Foundation business, an associate of Wolfson is quoted in *Life* as saying that Fortas did indeed discuss the SEC matter.

• On September 19, a Federal grand jury indicted Wolfson on charges of stock manipulation. (He was convicted a year later.) In December, Fortas wrote a personal check for $20,000 to the Wolfson Foundation, explaining that the press of business kept him from performing the unspecified "research" and "studies" he had promised.

Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) noted that Fortas returned the money 11 months after depositing it in his bank and only after Justice William O. Douglas was sharply criticized for accepting $12,000 a year in "expenses" from the Albert Parvin Foundation, "a tax-exempt group controlled by a group of Las Vegas gamblers, who likewise are in trouble with the Department of Justice."

Acceptance of such fees, Williams said, "violates the normal standards of ethics that we accept from men holding these high positions." (It was not the first time Fortas had accepted questionable "fees" while serving on the High Court. He had earlier taken $15,000 from a group of business fat cats for presiding over a handful of seminars at American University.)

In the wake of the *Life* disclosure:

• The Justice Department opened a top-level probe into the Fortas affair. Assistant Atty. Gen. Will Wilson is directing the investigation to see if Fortas' relationship with Wolfson violated either of two federal laws.

• It was learned that, under Justice Department instructions, a federal grand jury in Cleveland is investigating Fortas' old law firm of Arnold & Porter for allegedly withholding documents in a price-fixing case. Fortas' wife, who uses her maiden name, Carolyn Agger, is a partner in the firm.

Late in the week, Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.), who spearheaded the 1968 drive against Fortas' confirmation as chief justice, held a Capitol Hill press conference in which he disclosed that critics had still more "information" ready to reveal. The Michigan lawmaker indicated that Fortas knew of the latest data and suggested that the justice might resign rather than explain it to congressional probers.

Finch Coddles Radicals

Capitol Hill conservatives are sizzling mad at President Nixon for continuing to permit the Health, Education and Welfare Department to undercut congressional demands for strong action against student demonstrators.

For instance, less than a week after he had been confirmed as U.S. education commissioner, James E. Allen Jr., more prominently remembered for his role in trying to destroy New York's neighborhood schools through irresponsible busing policies, entered into the campus controversy. Allen, it seems, questioned whether "punitive measures" should be the response of the government to the school unrest. Instead, said the new commissioner, the government should try to assist in the creation of "programs needed to meet the concerns of students."

Allen's boss, HEW Secretary Robert Finch, has been making similar noises. Testifying recently before Rep. Edith Green's subcommittee on education–which is studying ways in which to deal with campus riots–Finch said he saw no need for any legislation. Indeed, apparently ignoring what has been going on around the country, he stressed that university and college administrators, rather than the federal government, should take the responsibility for campus discipline.

Finch's statements on the wild campus disorders have drawn irate observations from a score of Republicans. Rep. William Harsha (R.-Ohio) said that Finch's reported view that hard-line rhetoric from Washington only fuels student disorders is "the typical reaction of the ultra-liberal." Finch, he charged, is "a dove in the campus warfare" and "apparently of the same ilk as some of the university administrators" who won't move firmly against campus rebels.

Finch's views are so bad in GOP eyes, it is claimed, that politicos are predicting Republicans will soon be publicly clamoring for his removal from office.

Bradley's Leftist Ties

Thomas P. Bradley, the Negro councilman who is challenging incumbent Sam Yorty for mayor of Los Angeles, breezed into the Capitol last week hungry for national publicity. After an enthusiastic endorsement from Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.), Bradley scurried off to a $25-a-plate fund-raising luncheon at the Statler Hilton in downtown Washington.

BRADLEY

Democrats attending the affair included Sen. Alan Cranston (D.-Calif.), Mrs. Fred Harris, wife of the Democratic national chairman, and Kennedy himself. Even though Bradley and his Democratic supporters are hoping to parlay a victory over Yorty into a victory for the Democrats in California in 1970 and 1972, a clutch of Republicans was also present at the Hilton. Among them: Rep. Alphonzo Bell (R.-Calif.) and former Sen. Thomas Kuchel, also of California. Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.) and Edward Brooke (R.-Mass.) sent telegrams.

Despite the bi-partisan accolades, however, Bradley has refused to repudiate his radical support. When asked about the openly left-wing infiltration of his campaign, Bradley refused to "dignify" the charges or evaded the issue. At one point, Sen. Kennedy felt impelled to say that "smear charges like that are a great disservice to a fine public servant."

But the issue of Bradley's radicalism will not die down. His campaign manager is Maury Weiner, southern director for the ultra-left Californians for Liberal Representation. The 1967 report of California's Senate Fact-Finding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities reveals that the CLR is honeycombed with radicals, including those with close connections with the Communist party. A number of members were supporters of the radical Free Speech Movement, with one member a "contributor to the *People's World* of March 11, 1967." The *People's World* is an official Communist party publication.

Also working out of the Bradley office is Don Rothenberg, the northern director of the CLR. Rothenberg, who only recently publicly stated that he left the Communist party in 1956, has had a long

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history of radical activity.

Now Bradley's campaign coordinator, Rothenberg chaired a meeting of the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee in the Hall of Flowers in Golden Gate Park in 1967.

According to a San Francisco *Examiner* report in July of that year the meeting was actually a "drive for funds to buy guns for Bay Area Negroes to afford them 'a fighting chance' against police and National Guardsmen in the course of a 'long, hot summer and beyond. . . .'"

"Among the identified Communists at the meeting," says the *Examiner*, "were Albert 'Mickey' Lima, northern California chairman of the Communist party; Roscoe Proctor, a Lima aide; Mrs. Virginia Proctor; Al Richmond, publisher of the Communist *People's World*. . . ."

At the Rothenberg-chaired meeting, the *Examiner* reported, a plea for guns was made by "Bob Avakian, who said: " 'If the Negroes want guns to protect themselves from the police we should help them by giving them guns.' " Avakian distributed leaflets prepared by the Student Organizing Committee which read in part:

" . . . we have the responsibility . . . to make it possible for black people to have a fighting chance of defending themselves. . . .

"Among other things, this means that we could help raise funds and supply weapons for groups like the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, which is arming and organizing black people for self-defense."

The *Examiner* related that "The current Black Panther publication identifies Avakian as research editor of *Ramparts* and carries a bylined story in which he refers to President Johnson as 'the world's top-dog oppressor and murderer.' " Rothenberg himself was an assistant to the publisher at *Ramparts*.

Asked last week to comment on Rothenberg, Bradley said he stood behind his influential campaign coordinator. An ex-cop himself, Bradley's main job if he is elected mayor will be to supervise the police department.

New Jersey Governorship Tussle

A real liberal vs. conservative donnybrook is developing in the Republican primary to nominate a candidate for the governorship of New Jersey, one of the two states to elect a governor this year. Although there are five GOP candidates in the race to succeed outgoing Democratic Gov. Richard Hughes, the real contest now appears to be between Representatives William Cahill, a liberal, and Charles Sandman, a conservative.

SANDMAN

Previously Cahill had been the favorite, due largely to his longer service in the House and the fact that, although both men are from the southern part of the state, Cahill has greater support among party leaders in the vote-heavy Republican counties in northern Jersey. Also, Cahill's promoters were ecstatically proclaiming that, should their candidate win the June 3 primary, the GOP will have a more liberal candidate than the Democrats.

The leading Democratic contender is former Gov. Robert Meyner, who established a liberal record as the state's chief executive in the '50s, but is now campaigning on a hard law-and-order line. Meyner's closest competitors in the six-man Democratic field are Louis Tonti, director of the state parkway system, and Rep. Henry Helstoski.

Despite Republican Cahill's early lead and the enthusiasm of his liberal backers, he has been visibly losing ground in recent days. In two counties where Cahill had been counting on organizational endorsement, the leaders have decided to remain neutral, while in a third, populous Essex County, the GOP leadership jolted Cahill by endorsing Rep. Sandman. In Bergen County, where Cahill has already been backed by GOP officials, the rank and file is reported ready to vote for Sandman.

One explanation for Cahill's slippage and Sandman's rise is that Sandman, although he did vote for favorite son Clifford Case at the GOP convention in Miami last year, appears to be the only candidate not afraid of the "conservative" label and the only one who seems to offer a clear alternative to Cahill. Two of the three other GOP candidates are considered liberals of the Cahill stripe, while the third, State Senate President Frank McDermott, is a "moderate." McDermott, nevertheless, does have some support from conservatives, mainly in northern New Jersey, who are unhappy with Sandman's pro-Case stand in Miami.

National Republican strategists are hopeful of a New Jersey victory this year, basing their optimism on Nixon's carrying of the state last November and the discernable conservative tide among New Jersey voters. If Meyner is the Democratic nominee GOP officials believe the state's general voting public will prefer a "new face" to the former two-term governor.

And since New Jersey is the only state beside Virginia that has a statewide contest in 1969, national Republicans will be using everything they've got to secure a victory.

Marshall Blasts Extremists

Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, himself once an advocate of civil disobedience, let loose a resounding blast against black militants and campus chaos last week. Addressing a predominantly Negro audience at Dillard University's centennial celebration in New Orleans, Marshall asserted that "anarchy is anarchy is anarchy and it makes no difference who practices it.

MARSHALL

"It is bad," he continued, "it is punishable and it should be punished."

Referring to himself as a Negro, rather than a "black" man, Marshall stressed that "nothing will be settled with guns, fire, bombs and rocks." It's time, he continued, "for the good thinking people to realize that black separatism breeds nothing. Some of us old folks here can remember when a proposal was made to give Negroes a state and who proposed it? The Communist party, that's who, so that's nothing new."

Commenting on those "black is beautiful" campaigns, Marshall stated he believes "Negro Americans have just as many beautiful people in mind and body, as well as skin, as any other group, and that we have just as many stinkers as any other group."

"Sure we're frustrated," he acknowledged. "There probably isn't a man worth his salt who isn't, but we can't look for the solutions in suddenly planned actions for the sole purpose of getting on TV. . . . The country can't survive if the perpetrators go unpunished. It's that simple."

In words reminiscent of those spoken by Negro leader Bayard Rustin only two weeks ago, Marshall stressed that "You can't use color for an excuse for not doing what you should be doing. Race is not an excuse for not keeping up your house properly, nor is race an excuse for not keeping your children in school, even though they may still be segregated. . . . You are not going to compete in the world until you have training like everyone else, and hopefully better."

Marshall's comments—frequently and enthusiastically applauded—have come as a welcome surprise to Capitol Hill. On too few occasions, many lawmakers believe, have Negro leaders been willing to thoroughly remonstrate against violence perpetrated by members of their own race. Even when acts of violence are deplored, those committing them have been excused on the grounds of cultural deprivation or discrimination.

The real failure of Negro leaders to speak out forcefully against mayhem in the past has made it difficult for lawmakers on a national, state and local level to deal with the problem of violence. Many legislators have been afraid to act for fear of being branded as "racist." Less than a year ago, Spiro T. Agnew, then governor of Maryland, was roasted by Negroes and much of the press when he vigorously urged Negro leaders to denounce black militants. Belatedly, apparently, these responsible leaders are now heeding Agnew's advice.

• While warmly applauding Marshall's remarks, conservative political observers recall when the justice himself seemed rather oblivious to radicalism and the cant of civil disobedience. Not only did Marshall flirt with a number of left-wing causes in the past, but on Oct. 24, 1964, Marshall, then a federal judge, walked out of the Episcopal Church's House of Delegates in St. Louis, Mo., to protest that body's refusal to sanction civil rights demonstrations in defiance of the law.

The resolution rejected stated that some laws are "in basic conflict with the concept of human dignity under God" and added: "The Church recognizes the right of any person for reasons of conscience to disobey such laws or social customs." In the debate preceding the vote, David Bronson of Minneapolis voiced the opinion that the resolution, if passed, was "the way of chaos." Marshall, in disagreement, stormed out of the meeting.

Hickel Foils Muskie Vendetta

Despite the opposition of Democratic presidential hopeful Sen. Edmund Muskie, Interior Secretary Walter Hickel has appointed James G. Watt, a former U.S. Chamber of Commerce official, to a major post in the Interior Department. An Interior Department official confirmed to *Human Events* that Watt's appointment as deputy assistant secretary of interior for water and power will be announced shortly, after Civil Service Commission approval.

HICKEL

Virtually promised an assistant secretaryship at one time, Watt had seemingly been sidetracked because of Muskie's potshots from his position as chairman of the Senate committee on air and water pollution. (See *Human Events*, March 15, 1969.)

The first time Muskie brought Watt's name up was during Hickel's lengthy Senate confirmation hearings. The Maine senator complained that Watt escorted Hickel around Senate offices and indicated that Watt was a bad influence. When Watt was secretary of the natural resources committee of the U.S. Chamber, Muskie charged, the Chamber had been in the forefront of those who would "destroy the water quality standard program."

Knowledgeable Washington observers, however, feel that Muskie's temper tantrum against Watt can be traced to other causes. The major reason he has had his back up about Watt, they say, is that a bipartisan group in Congress favors Watt's ideas on conservation and water pollution over those of the ambitious Maine lawmaker.

Muskie's feud with Watt goes back to last year when the House—with strong support from the U.S. Chamber—passed an effective water pollution bill whose provisions had been largely shaped by Watt.

The House-passed measure also had the support of most of the nation's governors. Democrats and Republicans in the House, moreover, unanimously opposed Senate amendments backed by Muskie that would have given the interior secretary arbitrary authority over agricultural and industrial activities. Watt also opposed Muskie on this score. Hence, Muskie was miffed.

As an important member of the Senate's liberal bloc, Muskie had hoped to even the score with Watt by blocking his promised nomination to the assistant secretary post. Hickel, however, has foiled Muskie by giving Watt an important deputy assistant secretary job, a position that won't need Senate confirmation.

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Mayor Sam Yorty (left) and his challenger Thomas Bradley exchange verbal punches during a recent debate as the two square off for the job of running Los Angeles. Columnist Ryskind points out that this well-publicized race is not the only contest up for grabs this coming May 27.

Academic Pollution

By MORRIE RYSKIND

The mayoral race in Los Angeles draws the headlines, probably because Mayor Sam Yorty is white and his challenger, Tom Bradley, is black.

But the other contest, in which conservatives vie with liberals for three Board of Education seats, is no less important, since the same issue—law and order—seems to be at stake. Whether so or not, my own checking shows that 95 per cent of those for Yorty will opt for the conservatives; while Bradleyites will vote for the liberals by the same margin.

We are all aware of the problems of air and water pollution. Yet the pollution of our academies by the SDS, the Black Panthers and other rabble-rousers may be equally dangerous. Especially when this New Left is blindly followed by knee-jerk liberals who condone terrorism, arson and looting if committed in the name of "civil rights."

I thought Bayard Rustin, long prominent in the black movement, struck a mighty blow for sanity when he recently warned the colleges to "stop capitulating to the stupid demands of Negroes" for black culture programs:

"What the hell are 'soul courses' worth in the real world? They want to know if you can do mathematics and write a correct sentence."

He'll probably now be dubbed an Uncle Tom—but he told it "like it is." Swahili has swept the colleges, not for its intrinsic value, but only because the profs have yielded to gangsterism.

And no academic group has bowed more to arrant racism than the present Board of Education in Los Angeles. Only the lone conservative has adhered to sound academic principles. The other four have knuckled under to rioting, disruption of classes and senseless vandalism in various minority quarters, mistaking the voice of the mobsters for that of the community. By treating the hoodlums as equals, they have invariably wound up as their inferiors. I'm almost persuaded they like the role—it shows how "progressive" they are.

You doubtless read how a militant group at Oneonta, N.Y., seized the college and made the following demands: More Negro scholarships, profs and tutors; a special orientation week for Negroes; an exclusive dormitory for them, and a Negro cultural center and library. Not unreasonable these days, since the college has all of 55 Negro students out of an enrollment of 4,200.

But they added a new one. They also wanted a $35 weekly spending allowance, to make up for past injustices and—so help me—"because Negro spending habits are different."

The president yielded on all but the last demand, explaining he had no funds available for such a project.

I think the boys would have done better to have come to L.A. On past performances, the board might not have granted the whole $35, but $17.50 would have been a dead cinch.

We are far more understanding here. True, some teachers have been slugged, while some have had knives drawn on them, but we know boys will be boys. Still, this has resulted in many teachers asking transfers to less green pastures, and there is even talk of granting the hardier ones a "combat pay" bonus.

I know of one specific instance where the college president, bitterly besieged, would not act because he feared he had no legal right to call in the police. At a conference in Mayor Yorty's office, he was assured of his right. The police were then summoned and the siege was broken by the cops keeping the entrances open for those who wished to attend classes. And, with that protection, it became clear that the mob did not speak for the community, as it had claimed. But, naturally, the hoodlums were indignant at the "police brutality."

All of this unquestionably contributed to the electorate's refusal to vote for additional school bonds. This anti-intellectual attitude has shaken the board, which has now found a whipping-boy, Ronald Reagan.

It is clearly, they say, up to that reactionary governor to find the money the board needs to remain progressive. And if Los Angeles education goes down the drain, they will hold him personally responsible.

Well, that's how it goes in the City of the Angels—and, if I read aright, almost everywhere else. We won't know until May 27—Election Day—whether our academic pollution has been stopped here or not.

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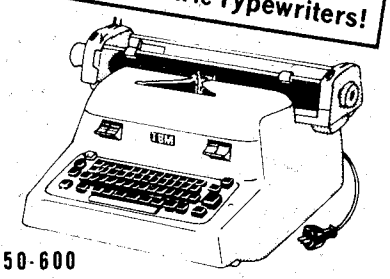

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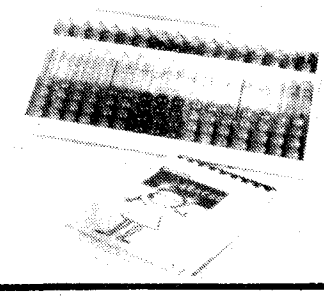

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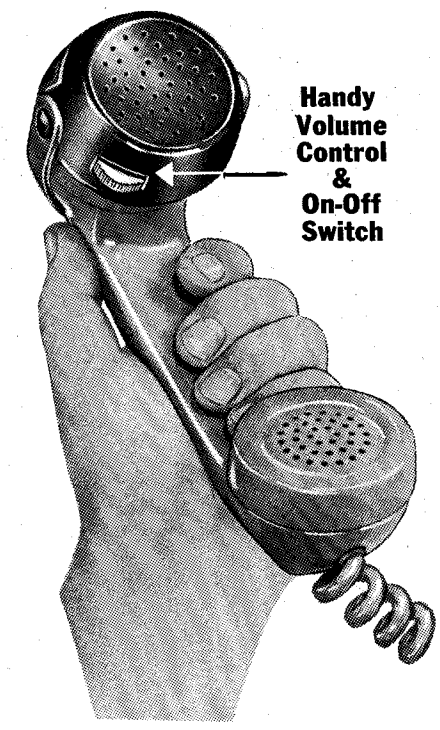

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American Security Council Report

31 Top Experts Endorse 'Safeguard' System

While its leading political and military authorities have been actively contemplating a possible surprise nuclear attack against the United States, the Soviet Union, operating on a war economy basis, has "jumped into the lead in over-all strategic missile strength." Thus "an American ABM system is the soundest insurance for peace and against war that the United States can buy in 1969 for the 1970s. Far from being an offensive weapon, the ABM is in reality insurance against war. It may well be, in fact, the single most important step the United States can take toward a real and lasting peace at this moment in history."

These are the extremely significant conclusions of a 64-page study prepared for the American Security Council by a prestigious group of scientists and military and diplomatic experts. The group was headed by co-chairmen Dr. Willard F. Libby (Nobel Prize for Chemistry, 1960), director of the Institute of Geophysics and Planetary Physics, UCLA; Dr. William J. Thaler, Physics Department, Georgetown University, developer of "over-the-horizon" radar; and Gen. Nathan F. Twining, USAF (Ret.), former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Among the 31 panel members who also endorsed the ASC report released last week were Dr. Harold M. Agnew, director of the Weapons Division of the Atomic Energy Commission's Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory; Dr. Eugene P. Wigner (Nobel Prize for Physics, 1963) of Princeton University; Dr. Edward Teller, nuclear physicist, Lawrence Radiation Laboratories, University of California at Livermore; Gen. Bernard A. Schriever, USAF (Ret.), who headed the development of America's ICBMs; and Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, former chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

In concluding that the United States must now move forward with the deployment of an ABM system, these experts warned that, "We now *know* that the Soviet's military objective is strategic superiority because they have passed 'parity' . . . and are still building." Clear evidence that they are striving for overwhelming nuclear superiority is provided by the following facts:

• " . . . The over-all military budget of the USSR is already essentially equal to or greater than the U.S. budget, especially when costs peculiar to Viet Nam are excluded from the U.S. figures. . . .

• "Although the gross national product of the United States runs almost twice that of the gross in the USSR, the USSR is investing two to three times more in strategic military forces annually. . . .

• "The USSR may invest at least $50 to $100 billion more in strategic forces between now and 1975 than the United States, unless the relative trends change substantially."

As a consequence of this massive effort, " . . . the Soviets have jumped into the lead in over-all strategic missile strength. They have made optimum use of a much smaller economic base than the United States—in effect, they have been and are operating on a war economy basis."

The report stresses that the combined total of Soviet missiles—including ICBMs (Intercontinental), IR/MRBMs (Intermediate and Medium Range) and SLMs (Submarine-Launched)—is now 2,750, compared with only 1,710 for the U.S.A. Furthermore, in the all-important ICBM or long-range missile category, the Soviet Union has about 1,200 in place or rapidly going into place, roughly 150 more land-based ICBMs than the United States.

Of special concern, says the report, is the "Soviet development of a very heavy intercontinental ballistic missile, the SS-9, which was unknown to the U.S. public until it was disclosed by Secretary Laird in his initial appearance this spring before the Senate Armed Services Committee. This missile carries a warhead in the range of 20 to 25 megatons, far larger than anything in the U.S. inventory. Because of its size and accuracy, the SS-9 is regarded as a weapon designed to knock out American Minuteman ICBMs."

The study virtually dismisses former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's claim that the U.S. has a "4-to-1" lead over the Soviets in individually targeted warheads.

This figure can only be arrived at by bringing American bombers into the over-all defense equation. But Secretary of the Air Force Robert C. Seamans Jr., in his testimony to the Senate Armed Services Committee April 16, 1969, discarded the McNamara arithmetic in this fashion:

"The much-quoted figure of a 4-to-1 U.S. advantage in individually targetable warheads may not be too reassuring. The 4-to-1 figure stems mainly from the bomber portion of the forces, since missile forces are rapidly approaching a 1-to-1 relationship. It was arrived at by omitting the Soviet medium bomber force from the calculations, while counting several bombs on each of our own bombers.

"The inclusion of Soviet medium bombers, medium-range missiles, and cruise missile submarines would bring the ratio of individually targeted warheads close to 1 to 1, with a payload advantage somewhat in favor of the Soviets.

"I might add that it is not enough to argue that these ratios involve relatively higher numbers, about 4,000 weapons on each side at the present time, and that only a few hundred weapons would be needed to destroy the Soviet Union. The critical factor here is not how many total weapons we have, but how many would survive a Soviet attack, and, of these, how many would penetrate Soviet defenses."

The report further emphasizes: "It should also be considered that Secretary Laird told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that because of geography and the location of major centers of population and industry in Russia, as compared with the United States, *the U.S. needs to be able to deliver six times as many warheads as would the Russians to achieve destruction parity with them.*

"It would take, he reported, some 1,200 one-megaton warheads to destroy 45 per cent of the total population of Russia while the Soviet Union would need only 200 warheads of identical size to wipe out 55 per cent of our population."

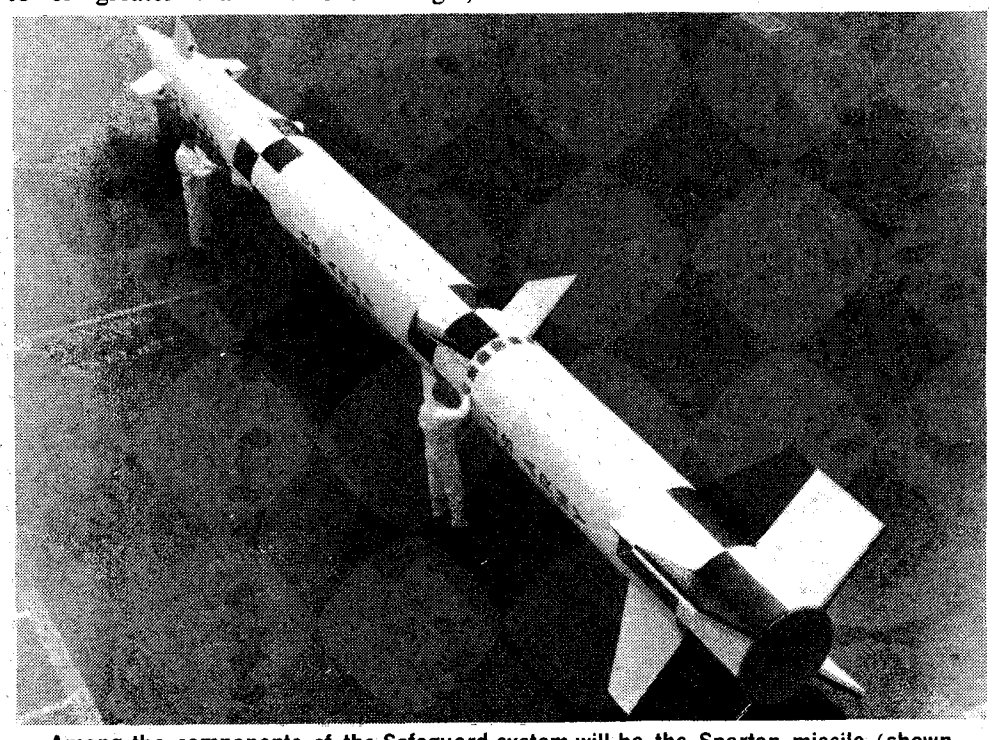
Not only has the military power of the Soviet Union grown more rapidly than that of the U.S.A., states the report, "but it has rapidly overtaken the forces of the United States in new concepts and new weapons systems.

"The USSR now has whole families of military (and naval) weapons systems that the United States does not have in its inventory:

1. The large IRBM and MRBM force (1,000) is such a family of weapon systems. This force is primarily aimed at Europe and now completely pins Europe down. Generals of the USSR have stated 'we now hold Europe as a hostage.'
2. Very large—50-100 megaton nuclear weapons which were tested in 1961-1962 and which, it is generally conceded in unclassified literature, have been adapted for missile delivery. The United States not only has no such weapons in its inventory—it has not even tested them and can only speculate as to the unique effects they may produce. . . .
3. The Bear Bomber is unique. It is the world's longest-range, highest-endurance bomber. It is an effective anti-shipping and anti-submarine attack aircraft with air-to-surface attack missiles on board. . . ."

Moreover, the Soviets "presently enjoy a clear lead in space orbital weapons. . . . Properly deployed, a significant number, let us say 100, could be in a position to attack the United States in a matter of seconds after the button was pushed in the Kremlin. . . ."

In contrast to the United States, the Soviet Union has "been developing a sophisticated ABM defense system for 10 years and now has anti-ballistic missiles deployed around Moscow and in a 'Blue Belt' defense line described by Marshal Malinovsky as being 'for the defense of the entire territory of the Soviet Union.'" And this system, according to the study, becomes more significant as Soviet offensive power increases. As Dr. Seamans testified on April 16:



Among the components of the Safeguard system will be the Spartan missile (shown here in mock-up form). Despite an initial superiority in missile strength over the Soviets, the United States is now in a position of playing catch-up ball in the arms race.

Admiral R

Below are excerpts from a letter Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, father of the U.S. nuclear Navy, recently sent to Democratic Sen. John Pastore of Rhode Island. Sen. Pastore, vice chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, had sought the views of Adm. Rickover on the ABM in order to help clear up the public confusion on this important issue.

April 25, 1969

Dear Senator Pastore:

In your letter of April 15, you asked me to give an estimate and an opinion as to where we are and where we are going and what needs to be done in a military way in these times of turmoil and peril. . . .

The first point I would like to make is that in judging between conflicting views on this matter, the deciding factor must be their relevance to the world as it is, not as we would wish it to be. Granted the hideousness of modern war, can we deduce therefrom that mankind is now wise enough to forgo recourse to arms? A look at history should put us on guard against those who claim that humanity has now reached a state where the possibility of armed aggression can be safely disregarded in formulating national policy.

I am reminded of the intense opposition to the Navy's 15-cruiser bill in 1929. It was argued by many that with the signing of the Kellogg Peace Pact the year before, it was no longer necessary to build new warships. And this in light of the lessons of World War I which erupted despite the various Hague Peace Treaties! These ships were of inestimable value in helping us win World War II. . . .

Then, too, weight must be given to the credentials of those propounding opposite views. Are they public servants charged with the awesome responsibility to secure our country against foreign conquest, or are they private individuals not accountable for the consequences of their opinions, who feel free to express their personal abhorrence of war and to agitate for a reduction of the financial burden military preparedness imposes on the taxpayer?

Would the majority of the electorate accept their arguments that given our unmet domestic needs, we cannot afford an effective defense position vis-a-vis our potential adversaries? Or that war is

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"The effect of accurate Soviet MIRVs would be compounded by an expanded Soviet ABM system. If a Soviet MIRV attack could destroy a considerable portion of U.S. retaliatory forces, the remaining U.S. missiles might be unable to overcome the Soviet ABM defense."

In connection with their missile defense program, stresses the ASC report, "the Soviets are developing a comprehensive civil defense program . . . spending about 10 times as much effort as is the United States in providing the Soviet society an adequate civil defense. Moreover, civil defense in the Soviet Union is related directly to overall military strategy."

The study asserts that this fantastic Soviet effort to achieve first-strike capability becomes even more significant when measured against the background of announced Soviet objectives for world domination and the repeated declarations of Soviet leaders that they are preparing for a decisive struggle, including a possible nuclear war, with the United States and other representatives of "capitalism."

Marshal V. D. Sokolovsky, in a major work on Soviet military strategy approved by the Communist party of the Soviet Union in 1968, relates, for instance, that "The program of the CPSU states that the present era, the fundamental makeup of which is transition from capitalism to socialism, is an era of conflict between two opposite social systems, an era of the downfall of capitalism and the liquidation of the colonial system, the era of the transition of more and more nations to socialism, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale."

Thoughts of a similar nature were recently penned by Gen. Alexei Yepishev, head of the Political Administration of the Soviet Defense Ministry. In the April 29 issue of *Komunist*, official journal of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, Yepishev strongly suggested the inevitability of "a series of frightful clashes" between communism and the West. Further, notes the study, Yepishev forthrightly rejected the thesis that nuclear war is unacceptable.

An excerpt from a March 19, 1969, piece in the official newspaper of the Soviet Armed Forces, *Red Star*, gives additional insight into Soviet thinking. In an article significantly titled "The Art of Winning," Maj. Gen. V. Reznichkenko indicated that a "surprise" nuclear attack against a possible foe was not an unthinkable thought.

"Surprise," Gen. Reznichkenko stated, "is a very important principle of military art which determines whether victory is achieved during combat actions. Surprise makes it possible to anticipate the enemy in delivery strikes, takes him unawares, paralyzes his will, sharply reduces his combat capability, disorganizes control, and creates favorable conditions for the defeat of even superior forces."

In short, states the American Security Council study, "in both word and deed, the Soviets have shown that they regard the world struggle as a fight to the finish be-

Continued on page 13

Authors of ASC Report

The 31 military, scientific, diplomatic and foreign policy experts who prepared and signed the American Security Council report were:

Dr. Willard F. Libby, Co-chairman
Dr. William J. Thalor, Co-chairman
Gen. Nathan F. Twining, Co-chairman
Gen. Paul D. Adams, USA (Ret.)
Dr. Harold M. Agnew
Prof. James D. Atkinson
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Peter Bruce Clark
Adm. Robert L. Dennison USN (Ret.)
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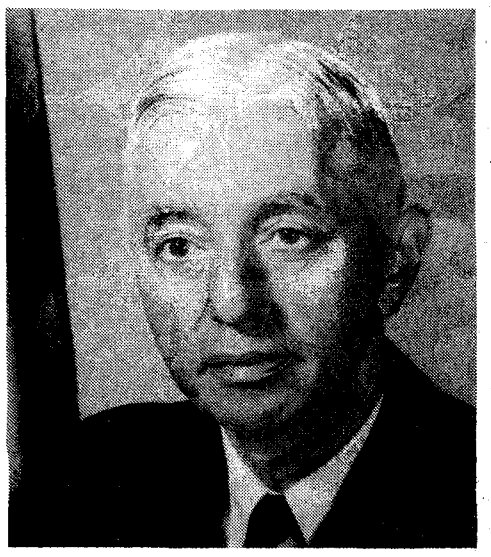
Dr. Edward Teller
Rear Adm. Chester C. Ward, USN (Ret.)
Dr. Kenneth Watson
Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, USA (Ret.)
Dr. Eugene P. Wigner

kover Explains Why We Need the ABM



Adm. Hyman Rickover, a longtime student of the nation's defense posture, feels certain the ABM can be made to work.

so horrible that it is better to suffer defeat than to fight?

As for the high cost of preparedness, it is in fact no greater proportional to total U.S. output than 10 years ago—8.8 per cent of total U.S. goods and services. Omitting the costs of the Viet Nam war and allowing for inflation, our armed forces have less buying power today than a decade ago. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand—according to the Annual Report of the Congressional Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy issued last June—resources have been diverted from the farm sector to defense, where outlays rose dramatically in 1966-67, after remaining static since 1962. The report talks about their new preoccupation with national security. And you must bear in mind that actual war costs absorb but a small portion of their expenditures while we are spending some two-and-a-half-billion dollars a month in Viet Nam.

If history teaches anything it is surely that weakness invites attack; that it takes but one aggressor to plunge the world into war against the wishes of dozens of peace-loving nations if the former is militarily strong and the latter are not.

Yet there are those who deprecate the need to maintain military supremacy or at least parity with the Communist empires, on the grounds that other nations have accepted a decline from first to second or third rank and that we ourselves for most of our history were militarily a second-rate power yet secure enough within our borders. They forget that we then profited from the *Pax Britannica*, even as the former great powers of Europe who have lost their defense capability enjoy political freedom today only because we are strong enough to defend them and ready to do so. What it means to be weak and without American protection should be evident to all as we observe the tragic drama of Czechoslovakia "negotiating" with Russia the continuing subjugation of her people.

As a lawyer, you are familiar with Blackstone's statement that security of the person is the first, and liberty of the individual the second "absolute right inherent in every Englishman."

Just so, the first right of every American is to be protected against foreign attack, and the first duty of government is to keep our nation alive. Given the world situation, this calls for maintenance of a defense capability which is adequate to discourage potential aggressors.

Said President Nixon, in discussing the Cuban missile crisis, "It is essential to avoid putting an American President, either this President or the next President, in the position where the United States would be second rather than first or at least equal to any potential enemy. . . . I do not want to see an American President in the future, in the event of any crisis, have his diplomatic credibility be so impaired because the United States was in a second-class or inferior position. We saw what it meant to the Soviets when they were second. I don't want that position to be the United States' in the event of a future diplomatic crisis."

There can surely be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the American people are opposed to relinquishment of our defense capability, recognizing full well that there will then be no one left to prevent the takeover by Communist power. Whether one takes the optimistic view that a permanent East-West detente can be negotiated, or the pessimistic view that ultimately we shall have to fight for our liberties, this nation has no future if it allows itself to be outmatched militarily.

To turn now to specific matters currently in dispute. There is the ABM system which is under heavy fire on grounds that it (a) will escalate the arms race and (b) will not work. It should be stressed that the Soviets have had their own version of the ABM for several years without inducing us to expand our military power. Just as the Soviet ABM version has not added to the Soviet threat, so our own ABM would not add to ours. The Russians have been singularly silent in this respect; the outcry has come mostly from those in this country who habitually apply a double standard when adjudging military developments in the U.S. and the USSR. One must ask how can our defensive capability be considered provocative, while theirs is not? . . . .

As for the assertion that the ABM cannot be made to work, I must disagree. If there is one lesson I have learned in the many years I have devoted to the development of nuclear propulsion plants, it is that, given the soundness of a theoretical concept, it can, with drive and imaginative engineering, be *made* to work.

Contrariwise, for a theoretical concept to be translated into reality, it must be *worked* on. Research alone—no matter how prolonged—will not do it. The very act of developing the concept through detailed engineering work produces improvements in the original concept—improvements which would have been neither obvious nor possible without such actual engineering work.

The Soviets are just as adept in research and development as we are. They have amply proved this by their progress in space, in missiles, in aviation, in military equipment, in nuclear submarines. They know full well from their own experience that with research alone—without development engineering—our ABM system or any other system would not be meaningful and could be discounted. For this reason we must guard against those claiming that we can limit ourselves to research—that research alone will suffice.

You also asked me to comment on what needs to be done in these times of turmoil and peril. As I am more familiar with the threat posed by the Soviets to our naval power, I would like to confine myself to this area, and specifically to submarines. But what I say here is valid for our land, sea and air power as well.

The Soviet Union is embarked on a program which reveals a singular awareness of the importance of sea power and an unmistakable resolve to become the most powerful maritime force in the world. . . .

To achieve this the Soviets [have] greatly expanded and modernized their submarine building facilities. Just one of their numerous submarine building yards has several times the area and facilities of all U.S. submarine yards. . . .

In the single year 1968, the Soviets put to sea a new-type ballistic missile submarine as well as several new types of nuclear attack submarines—a feat far exceeding anything we have ever done. . . .

By the end of this year we face the prospect of losing the superiority in nuclear submarines we have held for many years. The threat posed by their submarine force—with their new ballistic and cruise missile launchers and new attack types, is formidable. If more sophisticated types are added in the near future, as is likely considering their large number of designers and their extensive facilities, the threat will rapidly increase.

The Soviets have frequently announced their intent to be the pre-eminent world power. Why do we not believe them? Hitler in *Mein Kampf* plainly announced his intent to dominate the world. We did not believe him either—until it was nearly too late. Adm. Gorshkov, commander-in-chief of the Soviet Navy, said recently: "The flag of the Soviet Navy now flies proudly over the oceans of the world. Sooner or later, the U.S. will have to understand that it no longer has mastery of the seas."

And just a few days ago the Russians announced a projected 50 per cent increase in the size of their merchant fleet. These facts should be weighed when assessing the judgment of those who argue for a reduction of American military power while the Soviet military power is rapidly expanding.

The bearer of bad news is always punished. In ancient times, he might be put to death. Today he becomes "controversial" and unpopular. But if there is one subject on which the American people must know the truth, however unpalatable, it is our military position vis-a-vis the Soviets. I believe no one can better inform them than members of the Congress—who have such close ties to their constituents.

I suggest that by keeping secret our knowledge of Soviet strength at this time we may lose more than by confiding the truth of the danger we face to the American people.

Respectfully,

H. G. Rickover

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The Costly Myth of Soviet Thaw

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

"The most foolish remark an American can make is, I know how to get on with the Russians."—Former U.S. Ambassador Charles (Chip) Bohlen

President Nixon's appeal to the Soviet Union to help find any remaining parts of the Navy reconnaissance plane downed by a North Korean fighter may have been wise or foolish. Unquestionably, it indicated his intention of attempting once more to induce the sworn enemy of "American imperialism" to "cooperate in matters of common interest."

The question is why, in the face of so many previous failures, our new President persists in such an undertaking.

Back in 1941 FDR rejected the wise counsel of Ambassador Bullitt in favor of the pro-Soviet advice of Harry Hopkins and Walter Duranty. He died just in time to avoid having to acknowledge his burnt fingers.

Truman at first shared the same illusion. But by 1947—unhappily not in time to save China—he changed his mind and rescued first West Europe and then South Korea from the Red Blight.

Eisenhower entered the White House pledged to "roll back" aggressive communism. The advent of the Sputnik changed his mind. In 1959 he urged the visiting Khrushchev to call him friend. Though by his courage he saved the Chinese off-shore islands and Lebanon, and given more time would have rescued Cuba, he never could bring himself to admit that Communists everywhere act like Communists, alternating duplicity with aggression.

Kennedy, who before his election had also promised to liberate Cuba, actually allowed Castro, Soviet missiles and Soviet troops to remain there, and went on to accept the McNamara Doctrine of nuclear parity with a country bent upon burying the United States.

LBJ, after boldly sending substantial American forces to defend South Viet Nam, thwarted his own effort by waging half-war in agreement with the Soviet Union, glossed over the *Pueblo* humiliation and climaxed his foreign political career by appealing to Hanoi and Moscow for peace negotiations.

In short, all U.S. Presidents from FDR on thought they could do business with Moscow. All turned out to be dangerously wrong.

Today, in spite of Russia's patent instigation of the Six-Day War, of its drive to surpass the United States in nuclear weapons and on the high seas, of its renewed threats against (and sly overtones to) the German Federal Republic, of its ostentatious naval move into the Mediterranean, of its military rape of Czechoslovakia and, finally, of its proclamation of the Brezhnev Doctrine of "limited sovereignty" for all Communist countries but itself—in spite of all these, Dick Nixon seems to have accepted the myth of Soviet readiness to cooperate for peace with the United States.

How otherwise account for this apparent reliance upon Moscow for assistance in ending the wars in Viet Nam and the Middle East, for mutual armament limitations at the expense of potentially powerful U.S. allies like West Germany and Japan and for making North Korea pipe down? Why is Nixon abiding by the crippling secret agreements made by Harriman with Ho Chi Minh?

What about his alleged promise to Moscow that in exchange for the latter's permitting the German presidential election to be held in Berlin, he would compel Bonn to ratify the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty?

Unlike his five predecessors in the White House, Dick Nixon is no tyro in world affairs. As a man of experience he had promised during the presidential campaign to re-establish U.S. military predominance and to permit no more *Pueblos*. What happened to him once he become President?

In Washington, aside from the improbable charge of election trickery, three explanations are current.

The first is that the President has been "had" by the very faint-hearts in the State and Defense Departments whom he promised to eliminate, by loud-mouthed pacifists and by peaceniks in the universities and the U.S. Senate.

This I find improbable.

A second explanation is that Nixon has recoiled from the prospect of more confrontations with an opponent which, according to Britain's prestigious Centre for Strategic Studies, "must now be treated as a full equal in terms of both strategic power and of her ability to control conflict in the developing world."

Perhaps he feels that the United States has no choice but to try by a new offer of political cooperation and emphasis on "military sufficiency" to obtain a reduction of armaments on both sides, thus making the Soviet "thaw" real. Yet I cannot believe it in view of Defense Secretary Laird's case for a few ABMs.

A third explanation is that Nixon has no illusions about past Soviet aims but, in view of the desire of the American and allied peoples for peace and less military spending, he believes he owes it to them to try to smoke out Moscow's policy by a mixture of the stick and the carrot: On the one hand, American strength and a politically consolidated NATO; on the other, an offer of simultaneous disarmament and peace negotiations. This the NATO foreign ministers called a policy of "defense of the West and search for stable peace in the East."

Should the Russians either spurn this effort or dawdle while they continue spending all they can spare on still greater armaments, then, according to this analysis, the United States would use its overwhelming financial and economic resources to recover, in cooperation with our allies, whatever military preponderance is possible, including a first-strike force that will enable us to reassure a West Europe become skeptical of American protection.

This thesis sounds plausible. Yet at best it entails a loss of time during which the Russians may really surpass the United States in nuclear strength; and at worst a Communist South Viet Nam, a disrupted NATO, a renewed war in the Middle East and further demonstration of the already shaky Western peoples.

Presumably any overture to Moscow is at the present time an unnecessary gamble on the part of our potentially stronger camp.

But if any new American approach to the USSR will harm the West, why have the other NATO governments accepted it?

For several reasons: first, because since 1961 they have nourished an unreal optimism concerning the intentions of the Soviet Union similar to those of Kennedy and Johnson in the United States and have enjoyed relative peace on the cheap; second, because Nixon has gone a little way towards reviving a slowly expiring solidarity: his personal visit to the several capitals, his promise of closer consultation, his expressed hope of "defense of the West" and a search for stable peace in the East . . . disarmament measures and because they believed that Nixon would seek bi-lateral talks with Kosygin whether they liked it or not.

Moreover, almost every member of NATO is having troubles at home.

Britain's financial instability, relaxation and popular complacency, its decision to pull in the last of its imperial horns and practice appeasement and its inability to obtain admission to the European Common Market—these need no comment.

France, in addition to withdrawing from the "military side" of NATO, has never forgiven President Eisenhower for his refusal in 1958 to help that country produce nuclear weapons and to set up a NATO executive committee charged with formulating and applying a common policy throughout the world. Moreover, since April 1968 the French people have been torn by political and financial stresses.

In Italy, just when the people are living better than ever before, they are indulging in senseless riots, strikes and a leftist trend upon which the Communists are counting to destroy the present Center Left coalition and obtain a Popular Front government whose first act would be withdrawal from NATO.

Canada, under the unaccountable former leftist, Trudeau, seems to be edging in the same direction.

Yet the greatest danger to that Western solidarity upon which the safety of civilization now depends lies in the growing division within the German Federal Republic. All Germans are disappointed by their failure to achieve either Germany's or Europe's unification.

With a parliamentary election due in September, the coalition of Social Democrats and Christian Democrats is breaking up. The former, led by Foreign Minister Willy Brandt and supported by the trade-hungry Free Democrats, are committed to seeking national reunification by building bridges to the East, accepting the "state-like existence" of East Germany and mollifying the Russians by ratifying the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty.

The latter, under Kiesinger and Strauss, believe that Germany has atoned sufficiently for Hitler's crimes and should not be required by its allies permanently to renounce possession of those atomic weapons to whose foundation German scientists contributed so much. With a New Right and an extreme New Left emerging, many West Germans are wondering whether they should not rely for reunification less on NATO than on a "third dance with the Bear," meaning a new Rapallo Treaty.

Any such dance would mean the end of NATO and open all West Europe to increased Soviet pressure and influence. Yet this is precisely what Nixon's decision to accept the Soviet thaw as real and pursue bilateral negotiations with Russia at the expense of West Germany can lead to, not to speak of new "little wars of liberation."

My hope therefore is that arrogant Soviet bosses will thwart negotiations by either trickery or insistence upon unacceptable demands until such time as NATO can be reorganized along the lines suggested in 1958 by General de Gaulle and thereafter negotiate with Moscow, if at all, as a political unit.

Perhaps as in the past, the West will owe its freedom to the stubborn arrogance of its enemies.

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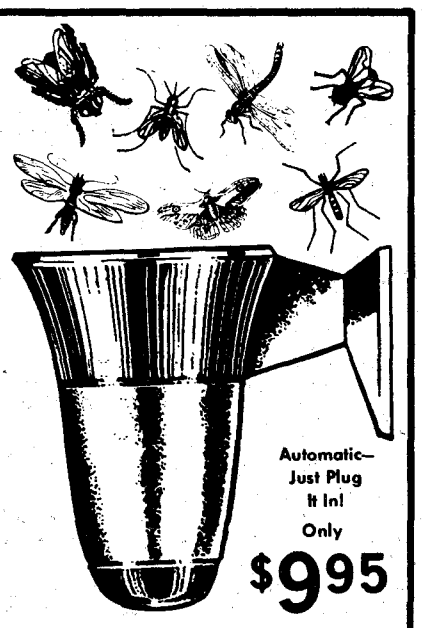

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Would Cover All Workers

Labor Launches Drive for $2 Minimum Wage

By VICTOR RIESEL

In the White House Cabinet Room one recent Wednesday afternoon, President Nixon sat alone on one side of the long table. Facing him was his home-front braintrust—men from the Bureau of the Budget, the Treasury Department, the Council of Economic Advisers and that lovable curmudgeon, Arthur Burns.

In walked Budget Director Robert Mayo. He took one look at the setting, did some mental gymnastics with billions and, reflecting the tax advice he would have to give, said dolefully:

"Okay, let's make it the President against the world."

Laughter. But not very hearty. The news was grim. The treasury thin. The pressures rough.

Soon the country will see how tough such pressure can be. Lowering his voice truly has not gotten the President anywhere with the nation's union chiefs. They don't talk of labor power. They have it. They plan to use it. They respect the President for not having clobbered them. But, as he learned from sitting across from them, they plan to raise their voice and unleash a smashing legislative blitz on the Hill.

They want what President Nixon does not believe he can give them—heavier spending, squeezing some $15 billion more annually in taxes out of the corporation and the "rich."

And, above all at this moment, support of a bill calling for raising the current $1.60-an-hour minimum wage to $2 an hour.

Passage of such an amendment to the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act would immediately raise the wages of 34 million people by $16 a week.

Another 10 million would get similar increases by February 1972.

Another 15 million would be brought under the act.

They would include domestic help—at $2 an hour for a 40-hour week, with overtime after eight hours on any one day. This will certainly draw the battle lines across the land.

Also included under the proposed labor amendments are certain motion picture house employes, certain hotel and restaurant workers and taxicab drivers. There are a score of other industries, such as logging, whose workers are now exempt from the minimum-wage law, whom the AFL-CIO lobbyists seek to bring in under the new umbrella.

Billions on billions of dollars' worth of higher payrolls are at stake. And though this coming clash does not have the melodrama of the cacophonic street demonstration, picketing and protest marches, the issue will have greater impact on the inner city than the daily "hollerings" at city hall. Most of those who would be affected by the labor drive's success are in the urban and rural ghettos.

Labor's leaders now mostly are our elders. But their passion runs high on this one. Under portly, booming chief labor lobbyist Andy Biemiller, the AFL-CIO will concentrate its 100 or more lobbyists on the Hill, after briefing them each Monday morning.

"This will have to be a tough legislative fight," says a spokesman for the AFL-CIO who knows labor President George Meany's every whim of iron. "The Administration has not indicated its position. But we believe this is the best way to fight poverty. We're not just going through the motions.

Some 100 AFL-CIO lobbyists in Washington will be led by former Wisconsin Democratic Congressman Andrew Biemiller.

"This will be a fight as tough and as big as the one we staged in our campaign for Medicare. This will outdo the common situs picketing push. We want that $2-an-hour minimum, and not only for the 44 million now covered, but also for farm workers, government (state, county and municipal) workers, and of course, the domestics."

They did not have to explain this to Dick Nixon when they saw him. He lived with the minimum-wage drives when he was vice president. The soft goods and garment workers union leaders came to him in the late '50s for his advice on how to handle "the old man," Dwight Eisenhower. At lunch one day, Mr. Nixon advised them that President Eisenhower never would permit the 75-cents-an-hour minimum to go above 90 cents without a fight. Mr. Nixon was right. But the labor leaders won the battle.

But the labor leaders won the battle they had launched in the '30s when they convinced a young congressman by name of Lyndon Johnson to get the Fair Labor Standards bill out of committee—a bill calling for 25 cents an hour minimum for a 44-hour week. After Gen. Eisenhower, the union chiefs turned to their friend, Jack Kennedy. He not only pushed it to $1.25, but also for the first time extended coverage. And Lyndon Johnson wound up his Washington visit by signing an amendment calling for a $1.60-an-hour minimum.

Now the two-dollar hour is being pushed for virtually all the unskilled of the land. Mr. Nixon will say no, quietly. Then the battle will get louder. Mr. Nixon's side of the table is getting lonelier and lonelier.

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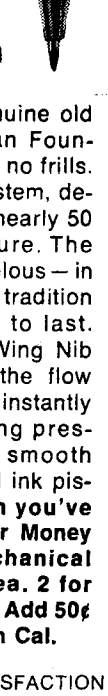

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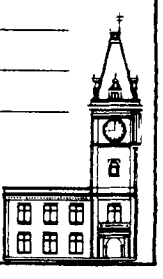

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The U.N. Adopts Lenin

By EUGENE LYONS in the *Murray Hill News*

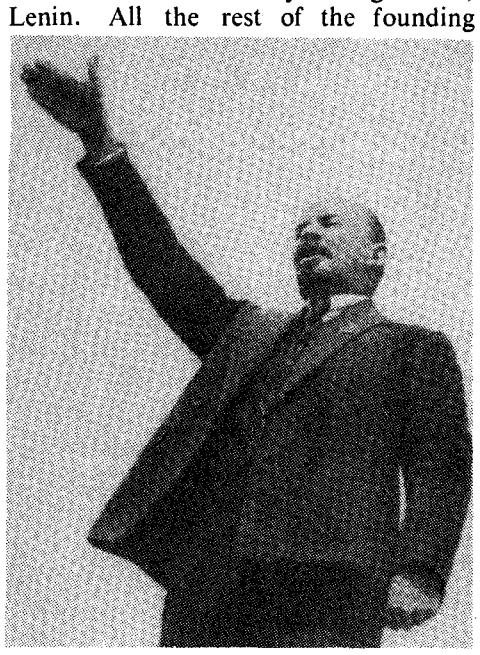
The news would be funny if it were not so obscene. I refer to the news that the United Nations, in the words of a press dispatch (New York *Post*, March 14), "is preparing to honor Lenin" for his contributions to "economic, social and cultural rights."

The U.N. educational division, UNESCO, has authorized a symposium on Lenin next year to greet the centenary of his birth in 1870, and the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, in Geneva, is working on a draft resolution at this writing to hold a special meeting during the centenary as a memorial for "the humanist ideas of Lenin."

In line with the UNESCO action, the commission, again in the words of the dispatch, "was expected to adopt" the resolution. By the time this column is in type it will undoubtedly have been passed. Dozens of free governments, our own among them, will thus have been committed to take part in a global salute to the chief architect of modern totalitarianism—and this under the banners of humanism, progress and human rights!

One has to stop to think for a moment—a moment should suffice—to recognize the grotesqueness of such homage by nations engaged, these 50 years, in warding off the menace of Lenin's Bolshevism.

The Kremlin has only a single hero, Lenin. All the rest of the founding



It is hard to equate Nikolai Lenin's contributions to "economic, political and social rights" with the supposed high principles upon which the U.N. was founded.

fathers have been executed or posthumously disowned as traitors. Even Stalin, Lenin's successor, was denounced as a monster by *his* successors. To make the most of their own remaining "father," the Moscow oligarchy is preparing a worldwide spectacular in April 1970 to celebrate his 100th birthday.

The billion human beings in Communist prison-lands because they have to, and millions in free societies because they have been mesmerized by leftist propaganda, will mark the centenary with unlimited glorification of Lenin. And now the United Nations—quite obviously on the initiative and under the pressures of the Communist members—have been euchred into joining the macabre festivities.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, of course, is a great historical figure. His impact on mortal affairs has been immense, deeper than that of any other leader in the 20th Century. But the consequences of his influence have been tragically destructive of human rights, democratic institutions and humanist impulses.

To "honor" him for supposedly having served these very values and institutions is therefore pure burlesque. It is an insult to the millions of innocents who died through Leninist terror, to hundreds of millions now living under Leninist dictatorships from Eastern Europe to China, from Russia to Cuba.

The living memorial to Lenin's contributions to human and cultural rights is the Communist world, penned in behind Iron Curtains and Berlin Walls, in which a third of the human race is denied the most elementary freedoms. It was in Lenin's name, in strict conformity with the totalitarian methods he pioneered, that a bid for freedom was crushed in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia only last August. How, except by the fruits of his life and works, is any leader to be judged?

Since the passing of Stalin there has been a tendency to romanticize Lenin, and certainly he seems humane by contrast. Yet there is little that Stalin did, except in scale, that was not first done by Lenin. Stalin simply carried to fantastic extremes the crimes first committed, or sanctified as doctrine, by his predecessor.

It was Lenin who stamped out all vestiges of free speech and press; set up the first terror machine, the Cheka; organized the first Soviet concentration camps for political dissenters; and devised the technique of "hostages" in which thousands were murdered for the alleged sins of others.

It was Lenin who dispersed the first and only democratically elected legislature, the Constituent Assembly, after he had hijacked absolute power from those who overthrew tsarist absolutism; who crushed the Kronstadt rebellion of his own Red sailors, slaughtering some 20,000 of them.

He had a boundless contempt for the people, this Lenin. He would drive them to the Communist utopia with whips of terror, wielded by a self-chosen revolutionary elite. He despised human rights in theory and suppressed them ruthlessly in practice.

He ridiculed "morality" as a bourgeois superstititon. His writings, like his actions, were saturated with scorn of democracy, civil rights and humanist scruples about taking life. In the delusion that he was the destined instrument of History, be set up a totalitarian police-state in which Mussolini, then Hitler, found a ready-made model for their own fanaticisms.

And this is the man whom the United Nations is preparing to "honor," in concert with Moscow, Peking and Havana! By the same logic its Commission on Human Rights should memorialize Stalin and Hitler and their spiritual forebears Caligula and Genghis Khan for their respective contributions to human freedom.

This moral atrocity can still be prevented by democratic public opinion. There are organizations in our country dedicated to support of the United Nations. Will they have the guts to demand a cancellation of the UNESCO decision? Will the free press in free nations expose and denounce this assault on common sense and historic reality? If the Commission on Human Rights proceeds to celebrate "the humanist ideas of Lenin," it will stand convicted of monumental hypocrisy.

Passport Director Frances Knight, left, has been trying to open three new passport offices to ease the backlog of applications. But the State Department, fearful of ax-wielding Rep. John Rooney (D.-N.Y.), has so far sat on its hands.

State Department Passes Buck on Passport Reform

By WILLARD EDWARDS

After three decades of watching bureaucrats at play, no new absurdity, however witless or arrogant, can startle this observer. Something close to dumbfounded incredulity, however, was aroused by discovery of the situation herewith outlined.

Every citizen knows that a major cause of the crime crisis in the nation is the logjam in the courts. Delays in criminal cases, averaging six months and longer, harm the innocent and benefit the guilty. The latter, out on bail, use their freedom to commit more crimes. Speedy trials and swift punishment are widely acknowledged as the surest way to reduce crime.

One cause of cluttered court calendars has received virtually no publicity, although it has long irked the chief judges of both federal and state court systems. This is the use of overburdened court clerks to accept passport applications in behalf of the State Department. They handled approximately 876,000 applications last year, about half the total number issued.

This service was arranged many years ago as a public convenience before Americans began swarming overseas in increasing numbers. For at least six years the courts have been attempting to divest themselves of this task. They have encountered, to judicial amazement, objections from both the State Department (which controls passport issuance) and Congress.

A strange cry of "economy" came from the State Department, which has doubled and tripled in size and spending until it now has a $400-million budget and 40,000 employes. It was echoed on Capitol Hill by Chairman John J. Rooney (D.-N.Y.) of the House Appropriations subcommittee which supervises State Department spending.

The State Department and Rooney fought all proposals to relieve the courts of passport work because the alternative was to expand the United States Passport Office and give it more funds and more employes.

In the topsy-turvy world of Washington officialdom, the Passport Office was recognized as an ideal target for spending restraints.

It is, first of all, widely recognized as the most efficient office in government under the direction of Miss Frances Knight, whose reforms in its operation have gained her national acclaim.

It is, secondly, the only office in the State Department that functions at a profit to the government. It operated last year on a budget of $5,083,000 and collected $13,518,675 in fees, turning the excess of $8,435,675 over to the Treasury.

Obviously, the Passport Office was setting a bad example and deserved a payroll limitation. It had to be taught a lesson even if Americans suffered less efficient passport service and American courts were hampered in meting out justice.

While this reasoning was not too twisted by bureaucratic standards, a complicating personal factor was known to all acquainted with State Department intrigue. The holdover Democratic personnel in the department, personified by Idar Rimestad, deputy under secretary for administration, have no love for Miss Knight, a firm Republican conservative. Rimestad holds his job by virtue of threats from his patron, Rooney, to slash all State Department funds if Rimestad is removed.

Miss Knight has been thwarted for six years in efforts to avoid what she and the administrative office of the federal courts agreed was an impending "passport crisis."

Only 11 large cities have passport offices. Miss Knight made a modest budget request for $204,000 to open three additional offices in Houston, Dallas and Detroit, where the courts were warning they could no longer carry the passport burden.

"All I am trying to do," she pleaded, "is to render citizens a service for which they are paying and on which the government makes a profit."

The State Department, although it budgeted a $17-million increase for other activities, found Miss Knight's reasoning repugnant and canceled her request. It was not concerned with the complaints of the courts. It was, moreover, in no mood to expand, even slightly, an agency already under suspicion for its smooth efficiency and its ability to operate at less than half the cost of the fees it collected. Here, the department budgeteers decided enthusiastically, was an ideal area in which to practice the economies ordered by President Nixon.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

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Would Penalize Economic Growth

Investment Credit Repeal Dangerously Short-Sighted

By HENRY HAZLITT

President Nixon's proposed repeal of the 7 per cent investment tax credit is dangerously shortsighted.

It is gratifying, of course, that he has asked for an early reduction of the 10 per cent income tax surcharge. But to compensate for the loss in revenue, he should have scheduled much deeper cuts than he has in the present profligate level of federal spending. This he has not had the courage to do. Instead, he proposes to reduce the income surtax on individuals at the price of increasing the taxes on corporations.

This may be politically popular, but in the long run it will prove a costly exchange for everybody.

The high tax on corporation income, which for large corporations now averages close to 52 per cent, is the most dubious part of our whole tax structure. Corporations are the key productive element on which the whole nation's income and economic growth depend. The economy grows only by new investment, by the expansion of its productive plant. The more and better tools and equipment we put into the hands of the workers, the more hourly worker-capital productivity increases. And the more productivity increases, the more labor is paid in real wages.

The dramatic difference between American and foreign wages is almost wholly the result of this difference in investment per worker. The National Industrial Conference Board calculated that as of 1964 the investment of American industry in plant and equipment amounted to more than $17,000 per employe. The present figure must be considerably higher.

To encourage such investment President Kennedy in 1961 recommended and Congress subsequently enacted a 7 per cent investment tax credit. Its purpose, in the words of then Secretary of the Treasury C. Douglas Dillon, was "to increase our efficiency and productivity at a rate at least equal to that of other leading industrialized nations" and "to bring our tax treatment of capital investment into line with the standards which our European competitors have used so successfully." Mr. Dillon insisted that the credit "must be a permanent part of our tax code" as opposed to "a temporary remedy for recession."

Mr. Nixon now calls the credit a "subsidy" to business investment and contends that the need for it has passed. "In the early '60s," he says, "America's productive capacity needed prompt modernization to enable it to compete with industry abroad." But the need for new investment for increasing efficiency and lowering costs is constant and unremitting. It is even greater today than in the early '60s. Our export surplus has been shrinking to the vanishing point. The American steel industry is fighting desperately even to hold its markets at home. To repeal the investment credit can only hurt our competitive position and aggravate our balance-of-payments problem.

The idea, recently expressed by Secretary of the Treasury David M. Kennedy and others, that corporate investment is causing inflation is a dangerous fallacy.

It is inflation, the increase in the money supply, that tends to increase investment as well as consumption. But President Nixon's tax proposals amount to saying that instead of part of the new money going into increased investment, still more of it should go into increased consumption. This is a shortsighted view from the standpoint of the economic strength and growth.

It is true that a tax credit may not be the soundest way to encourage corporate investment. A much better way would be to allow corporations to write off depreciation faster and more completely than they can at present. The truth is that with present over-all corporate tax rates, even allowing for the 7 per cent tax credit, our tax system is on net balance heavily penalizing new investment, not "subsidizing" it.

If that is indeed the choice, it would be much better to continue the 10 per cent individual income tax surcharge than to repeal the 7 per cent investment tax credit and to endanger our economic growth, the rise of wages and jobs in the capital industries.

(Copyright 1969, Los Angeles *Times*)

Continued from Page 9

Why We Need the ABM

tween two diametrically opposed social systems. Moreover, it is a fight the Soviets intend to win."

For all the above reasons, the study concludes, the United States must deploy the President's Safeguard ABM system. The Safeguard makes sense, the report states, because it makes sense "to defend our retaliatory missile sites"; to "defend our air bases"; "to defend our national command centers in the Nation's Capital"; "to defend against the Chinese threat of the mid-70s."

There is, further, every reason to believe the ABM will work. The "won't work" argument, the study contends, "is seriously flawed on both specific and general grounds. Both the Spartan and Sprint missiles—the prime ingredients of the proposed Safeguard system—already have been successfully flown. These in turn are successors to the Nike series of missiles which were successfully employed to knock down other missiles.

"The prototype missile radar is in test operation at the present time. The initial deployment of the Safeguard missile defense is now necessary to give us further technical, engineering production and testing experience to improve the system. We learn by doing. . . .

"Some people may feel that since *all* missiles may not be destroyed, the system is a failure. They say, 'You may knock down nine, but the tenth will get through.' But even if this is so the enemy is forced to greatly multiply his arsenal with greatly sophisticated missiles before he could dare to attack. This enormously complicates his offensive problem and adds immeasurably to the deterrent effectiveness of our own offensive missiles.

"In a larger sense, however, the United States has amply demonstrated its capacity to produce and operate the most complex communications, electronic and nuclear warfare systems.

"It is well to remember that some people declared the hydrogen bomb was impossible or that ICBMs and Polaris missile systems would not work. Moreover, the astonishing technical capacity revealed in the Apollo moon program or the Telestar communications satellites is evidence of what the United States can accomplish. . . ."

The study asserts that there is no reason to believe that the ABM would be provocative. Not only do we have no objective which requires our initiating an attack against the Soviet Union, "but we have carefully tailored our nuclear arsenal to exclude all weapons *designed* to initiate such an attack, or with which we could even credibly threaten such an attack.

"We have no hundreds of missiles with 25-megaton warheads. We have no orbital or fractional orbital bombardment sytems [FOBS] whose utility is to deprive defensive forces of sufficient warning time to survive a surprise attack. . . .

"The Soviet Union has, on the other hand, a definite motivation to overthrow or attack the United States because we are the principal national embodiment of the social system—capitalism—which the Soviets have sworn to eliminate. . . .

"In the present situation, we believe that there cannot be any substitute for the maintenance of U.S. strategic military superiority. This superiority must be substantial because U.S. policies have always permitted the enemy the first blow. In a nuclear war, an enemy might wipe out a very large percentage of our weaponry (and population) in a first strike. Unless we have enough military strength to survive a first strike and still strike back decisively, the risk of nuclear war increases.

"Avoidance of war *requires* that the United States maintain over-all military superiority. . . ." And this can best be done, concludes the study, through deployment of the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system.

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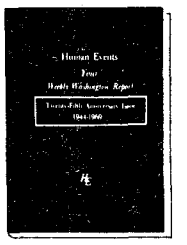

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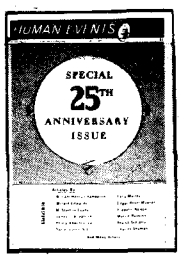

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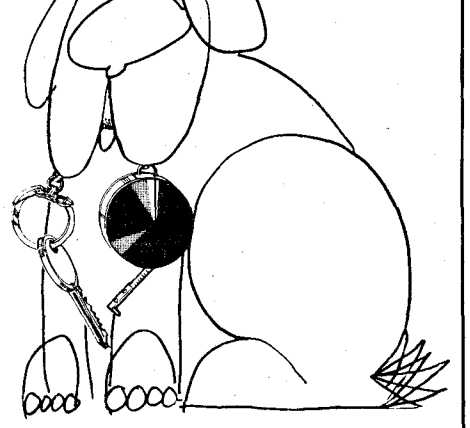

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Marine in Viet Nam Asks:

'How Can a Man Protest Something He Knows Nothing Of?'

(*The following letter from a 21-year-old Marine fighting in Viet Nam was received by Mr. and Mrs. William K. Johnson of Springfield, Mo. It was first printed in the Springfield* Sunday News and Leader.)

Concerning Viet Nam, it really makes me happy to know that you are interested enough in finding out the *truth* about this war before you make your decision for or against it. If only more people would take time to find out what's going on over here, they'd see things a lot differently.

To begin with, the coverage that you receive of Viet Nam (i.e., television, newscasts, documentaries, newspapers, magazines) is giving you the best "snow job" that I've ever seen. This is all I can say for the news media. When I first arrived in Viet Nam, I thought it was going to be one firefight after another for the whole year, from what I had seen on TV and read in the papers. I was really afraid to get off the plane because I thought I'd be running across the airstrip, blasting away at VC until I could make it to a bunker!

Fortunately, however, I found out how wrong I was, or should I say how misinformed I'd been. It's a fact that there is a ground war going on on a large scale in Viet Nam. However, it is restricted to certain areas. Weeks and months have gone by without a single shot being fired or an incoming rocket or mortar round being taken in our areas. I've been in firefights, but they've been 12 to 15 miles from our compound.

Another thing is the American public doesn't hear about the 24-hours-a-day, 7-days-a-week project going on to provide medical care and sanitation instruction to the villagers of South Viet Nam. The public doesn't hear about the civic action projects which build irrigation ditches to help feed a needy village whose rice crop isn't producing enough to feed the people. The newspapers don't print front-page headlines about Marines who built the children's hospital, school and orphanages here in DaNang.

There is one fallacy in our "great free press" that is, to be quite honest, killing a worthy cause over here. When you turn on the TV, all you see night after night is "Joe the Grunt" stalking VC in the hot, soggy rice paddies and jungles. You don't get to see that same "Joe the Grunt" pitching in with a lot of other "Joes" to help a village harvest rice so they can eat this year. It's a pity that our "free press" pulls the wool over the public eye with its sensational headlines just to sell a few papers.

I'm gravely concerned with all the peace demonstrations and draft card burnings that happen in the states. How can a man protest something he knows nothing of? If they want to argue the atrocities of war in general, and that peace and love are the only true answers, well then by God I'm all for them. I think every guy here has the only right to say this war is hell, and not some hippie who is afraid to come over here in the first place and hides behind some phoney fantasies.

Until we can effectively stop Communist aggression at a conference table, there are going to be wars. And you won't find too many guys over here who aren't proud they've helped these people in some way.

As far as the South Vietnamese are concerned, they are just now beginning to feel the effect of our far-ranging programs to help them. They have concrete evidence that we're here to help them and not to exploit them.

You have to stop and realize that we had one big job in just getting these people to trust us in the first place after the French fiasco in the 1950s. It's taken us eight years to build up their confidence in us, to prove that we weren't here just as a country trying to take over and rule. This has been a problem, a war itself against suspicions built up against all foreigners, and we've come close to solving it.

The medical aid and civic action projects which I've mentioned not only help them to trust in our people but, more importantly, the projects give them a chance to become more confident of their own government, which is our primary purpose in Viet Nam.

I agree when people say that mistakes have been made over here and that this war isn't popular. But has any war ever been any different?

Well, Mary and Bill, that's Viet Nam from the eyes of one who serves and has seen the war and the atrocities the hippies talk of—I saw my best buddy get shot to death on a patrol about two months ago. But I also have the pride of knowing that he didn't die for nothing, because I've seen the good sides, the portions that'll never sell papers on the street corner but that are helping to save the basic dignity of freedom that these people deserve. The hospitals, the schools, agricultural and sanitation assistance, and the orphanages built by the sweat of those same guys the hippies call "warmongers."

I can't tell you how much I appreciate you allowing me to tell you our side of the story—the story which no one can tell unless they've been over here. I defy any hippie, senator or anyone else who hasn't the guts it takes to come over here for 13 months before protesting against this war.

I'll sign off for now. I'm glad I've gotten the chance to convey my opinions on Viet Nam to you. I hope you will judge them with the weight that you give the information of the newsmen and then decide for yourselves what it's all about.

Sincerely
Mike Crompton

(Marine Cpl. Michael S. Crompton, H and S Company, Comm. Section, 1st Recon. Bn., FPO San Francisco, Calif. 96607)

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Defense Legacy

By SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER (R.-Ariz.)

There is no telling how long it may take to overcome civilian decisions which canceled out major weapons systems programs at a cost of billions of dollars.

Let me run down just of few of these programs:

The Skybolt program was canceled by the secretary of defense in December 1962 after an expenditure of $414,750,000—a decision, I may say, that was very influential in causing the Royal Air Force almost to disintegrate. Many of their programs were canceled as a result.

The Dyna-Soar program was canceled by the secretary of defense in December 1963 after an expenditure of $409,828,000.

The mobile mid-range ballistic missile—MMRBM—program was canceled in August 1964 because of insufficient funds to proceed with development. That was after a total of $64.7 million had been expended.

The F12 program was terminated in January 1968 after the expenditure of $303 million.

I may inject that the F12 was the only fighter interceptor we had in the program—we do not have it yet today; they are all in mothballs—that was a Mach 3 aircraft. The Russians have at least two in their inventory in the Mach 3 class. The closest we can get to it is about Mach 2.3, and that is pushing the state of the art considerably. . . .

Who was responsible for these decisions? Not the man in uniform—and I am not saying that the man in uniform should be responsible or have the responsibility. We have the constitutional concept of the civilian man being over the military man. I think it is important to keep that constitutional authority that way, and we should not disturb it. But the man in uniform, I believe, has a more sacred feeling as to what happens than many of our people who wear civilian clothes. . . .

I may be criticized for defending the man in the military, the man in uniform, but I shall continue to do it because we have trained him, we have encouraged him to go to school, and we have hired him, because of his know-how, to do a certain job. I know of no training course that prepares one to be a senator, but I know there are many training courses for those in our military establishment, and I would rather abide by the decisions of the military, mixed with civilian ideas, than depend entirely upon the civilians.

Texan Defends Oil Depletion Allowance

By REP. GEORGE BUSH (R.-Tex.)

As much of the attack on the oil industry and oil taxation has been primarily emotional, I have urged that the intellectual level of the debate be escalated. The time is at hand for sobriety of judgment in this matter rather than additional excesses of argument based on emotional sentiment.

In reviewing the record now before the Ways and Means Committee, the evidence clearly reveals that:

• On total taxes, the oil industry does pay its share of taxes.

• The oil industry is not disproportionately profitable. Using return on invested capital as a yardstick, the industry ranks right in the middle of all other industries. It is not more profitable than most manufacturing enterprises.

• The price of petroleum products has not risen nearly as fast nor gone nearly as high as products of other industries.

• There is an acute need to find more domestic reserves; the ratio between proved reserves and consumption has declined rapidly.

• The gas industry picture is exceptionally perilous in terms of long-range supply and consumption.

The above points were not substantially challenged in our committee, and yet incessant emotion prevails—the myth continues of the "rich oil man" getting fat at the expense of other taxpayers.

Here is a key example of emotion on the question of oil taxation. You have all heard of the 154 cases of really rich people, non-taxable individuals who pay no tax year after year. If you ask the man in the street why these rich people pay no tax at all, they reply "They are rich oil people using that oil depletion allowance."

And yet the figures provided to the Ways and Means Committee on these cases show that total income for these people came to $112 million and depletion on their income came to less than *1 per cent* of the total. And yet the industry still gets blamed—depletion still gets blamed—depletion is still called a dangerous loophole.

I hope the committee will separate fact from fiction.

I am pleased that President Nixon one week ago reaffirmed his position that the depletion allowance must remain unchanged. This reflects Mr. Nixon's awareness of the eminent importance this provision has in relation to our nation's future.

I am pleased that the Treasury's tax recommendations did not contain suggestions for changing the intangible drilling charge-off provisions of the tax laws. If these provisions were ever necessary, the time is now. Although these provisions are under assault in our committee, and in the Congress, I will continue to fight for their preservation. We must separate emotion from fact.

There is a widespread feeling around Washington that if we opened the floodgates to foreign oil there would be lower gasoline prices—lower fuel prices.

To this I say you might see a temporary price reduction, but our domestic industry would be driven to its knees and rendered impotent by a flood of foreign oil, and then the price of that foreign oil will surely rise. We'd be over a barrel and the Arabs would know it. Up would go our price.

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• President **Nixon's tax reform proposals** are presently being examined by the House Ways and Means Committee, which has been holding hearings on reform since mid-February. Both Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills and ranking Republican John Byrnes agree with the White House suggestions, but hinted their committee may go even further in reforming the tax structure. A synopsis of the Nixon proposals, not yet written into bill form, follows: (1) Continuation of the 10 per cent income tax surcharge through next January, when it would be reduced to 5 per cent until June 1970 (its extension after that date is still in question); (2) Repeal of the 7 per cent investment tax credit, retroactive to last April 15; (3) A 50 per cent limitation on the amount of income an individual could exempt from taxation; (4) Exemption from all federal taxation single persons earning $1,700 a year or less, married couples earning $2,300 a year or less and families of four earning $3,500 a year or less; (5) Business operations of churches would be taxed; (6) Private foundations would be restricted in the number of exemptions they could claim.

• The Nixon **campaign against organized crime** is also under discussion in Congress, although hearings have yet to begin. The Administration first asked Capitol Hill for a $61-million appropriation to the Justice Department for fighting racketeers, a figure $25 million above that asked by ex-President Johnson in his version of the fiscal 1970 budget. Nixon also called for new legislation to deal with witness immunity, suggesting that "friendly" witnesses be immune from prosecution on the basis of their own testimony but be subject to prosecution based on other evidence. Another White House crime proposal would make bribery and corruption of local officials (such as police officers) a federal infraction.

• The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has finally reported out a resolution (S. Res. 85), dealing with **U.S. foreign commitments**, which its chairman, Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.), has long been seeking. The resolution declares that any U.S. commitment to a foreign nation should "necessarily and exclusively" be approved by both the legislative and executive branches of government. The intent of the Fulbright legislation is to assert congressional power over U.S. military commitments overseas. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (Mont.) postponed floor action on the resolution until the end of May, after North Korea shot down the EC-121 spy plane; even then, however, Senate passage appears unlikely.

• Tough-talking Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.) is continuing to have her House special subcommittee on higher education probe **student disorders and federal aid to disrupted colleges**. The independent Oregonian has even promised to call Students for a Democratic Society leaders to testify. Recently Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Robert Finch voiced opposition to two bills before the subcommittee (HR 10074, HR 10136) which would cut off federal funds to schools which failed to act quickly in putting down student disruptions; that would, said Finch, "penalize a great majority for the acts of a few." Instead, Finch called for legislation which would hold out the prospect of a federal fund cut-off, but would grant college administrators "additional options" in disciplining disruptive students.

• The much-discussed subject of **electoral reform** has at last begun to take shape. The House Judiciary Committee has approved a means of presidential election reform and passed this on to the floor in the form of a resolution calling for a constitutional amendment (H. J. Res. 681). This amendment would abolish the Electoral College and set up the direct popular election of the President and vice president, with the candidate receiving the most votes in excess of 40 per cent of the total being declared the winner. If no candidate receives 40 per cent, a run-off election would be held between the top two presidential contestants. Also, Congress would be authorized to set the dates of the general and run-off elections and to establish uniform national residence requirements for presidential election voters. The proposed amendment must be approved by two-thirds of the membership of each house of Congress and by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states. As stipulated by H.J. Res. 681, the new method would not take effect until one year after the 21st of January following final ratification; or, to be effective by 1972, ratification must come before Jan. 20, 1971.

• The busy Senate Foreign Relations Committee has reported out a bill (HR 33) authorizing the U.S. to pay its share ($480 million) of a multination $1.2-billion **grant to the International Development Association** (IDA). The IDA, a branch of the World Bank, will use these funds to make loans to underdeveloped nations. A similar bill was set aside in the last session of Congress due to widespread Capitol Hill dissatisfaction with the entire U.S. foreign aid program; its chances have improved this year, with President Nixon supporting the IDA grant after promising to overhaul the foreign aid program.

• The Administration, through Secretary of Labor George Shultz, has offered a compromise on the sensitive issue of **unionization of farm workers**. Congressional liberals are pushing to have farm workers included under the National Labor Relations Act and be granted the same rights as industrial and craft workers. Shultz, saying such a move would be too drastic and disruptive of agricultural production, proposed establishment of a new Farm Labor Relations Board. This three-man body would guarantee farm workers' right to organize, but would ward off secondary boycotts against growers and help prevent crippling strikes at harvest time. Both farm and labor lobbyists are preparing for a head-to-head battle that could become one of the most intense of the session.

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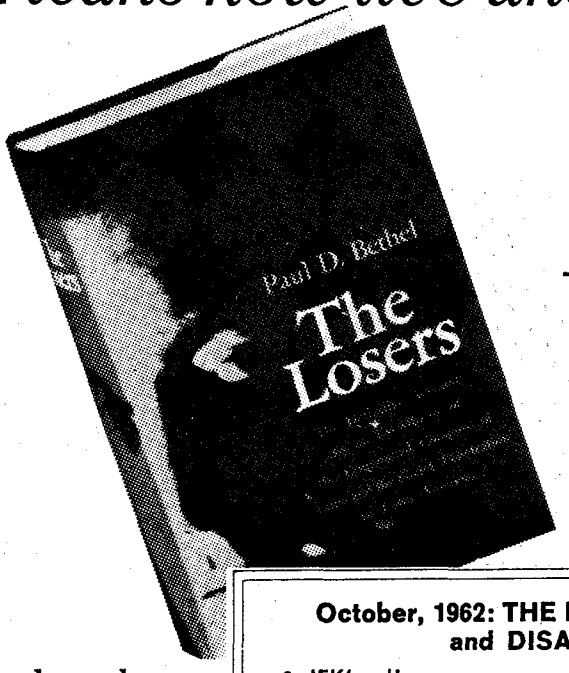

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Here Are Some of Them . . .

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